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THE  
ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES DOWN TO THE INVASION  
OF INDIA BY ALEXANDER THE GREAT ]

34731

BY

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"THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS".

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Opinions on Prof. S. K. DAS'S

# THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA

FIRST EDITION

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DEDICATED  
 TO  
 THE SACRED MEMORY OF  
 THE LATE SIR ASHUTOSH MUKHERJI  
 IN HUMBLE APPRECIATION OF  
 ALL THAT HE HAS DONE  
 FOR THE CAUSE OF  
 ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE.

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## PREFACE

At the beginning of the session 1922-23 I delivered a series of lectures on "The Economic History of Ancient India" to the students of the Kalikāta Vidyāpiṭha and as a token of my humble connection with that noble institution I published those lectures in January 1925.

In bringing out this second edition I have necessarily to make substantial additions and alterations so much so that the work has to be published in two volumes. I have avoided on principle all theoretical disquisitions throughout this work. It has been my aim rather simply to present the facts in a connected manner with a view to illustrate, as far as possible, the gradual development of economic progress from the earliest times. I have always indicated the sources of my information in order that my conclusions may be tested with reference to the authorities on which they are based. In this connection I beg to acknowledge the invaluable help and guidance I have received from the researches of Professors Zimmer, Macdonell and Keith, Drs. Fick and Rhys Davids and Professor Hopkins who have dealt with the economic data on the basis respectively of the Vedas, the Jātakas and the Epics.

I take this opportunity of expressing publicly my thanks to those savants and scholars who have favoured me with critical appreciation of the first edition of this work and to the authorities of the Benares Hindu University and the University of Calcutta who immediately after its publication kindly recommended it for introduction into their Post-graduate classes in Ancient Indian History and Culture.

Prafulla Chandra College

Bagerhat

The 3rd July 1937.

SANTOSH KUMAR DAS.



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## INTRODUCTION

The starting point of all human activity is the existence of wants. To satisfy hunger and thirst, to obtain shelter and to provide clothing were the chief aims of primitive man and constitute even to-day the motor-forces of all society. As man develops, his wants grow in number and refinement. However civilised he becomes, his material welfare is the foundation on which the entire structure of his larger life is built up. Ever since his creation man has waged an unceasing struggle not only to free himself from the vagaries of Nature but also to modify and utilise the forces of Nature to his own account. Any one, therefore, who wishes to engage in the study of human society can hardly neglect man's relations to his material environment, so essential to his life and progress. A study of this material basis will also enable him to disclose the influence of forces otherwise unnoticed and thus to throw new light on the explanation of the past or the moulding of the future.

Yet strangely enough this material or economic basis of human existence hardly drew the attention of historians except incidentally. With congenital human weakness for the uncommon and the extraordinary, they generally emphasised the cataclysmic factors in society like war and exaggerated the importance of the Supermen, the Heroes of History. As Dr. Price says "Political changes and constitutional developments, the rise and fall of dynasties and statesmen, the vicissitudes of military and naval conflict filled the canvas and presented tempting opportunities for able draftmanship and rich contrasted colouring." Thus the normal and actual development of human society, through the arts of peace and co-operation has been overshadowed by the lurid clouds of war and political strife. If, therefore, we want to re-establish History on her only true pedestal of truth and humanity, every individual writer and teacher of history must immediately start the work of expiation and search into the intimate relation that subsisted between Man and the surrounding Nature which exerted the most powerful influence on the evolution of human life and thought.

As regards this material environment we must take into account the physical features of a country, its geographical position and climate, the

nature of its soil, its productive capacity, the conditions of its food supply etc., and before we proceed to a study of the economic history of Ancient India a consideration of these with special reference to India must engage our attention so that we may see to what extent man in Ancient India was permanently affected by the material basis of his existence.

According to Geologists India was represented in Palæozoic times by the central plateau and the northern fringe of the Aravalli mountains. To its north lay a shallow sea covering the area of modern Afganistan, Rajputna and the Himalayan regions. In Tertiary times the Gondwana beds were formed extending over Assam and the Eastern Himalayas and this nucleus of India was connected with the continent of Africa by a stretch of dry land. At this time as a result of volcanic cataclysms the Gondwana continent was broken up and an area of 200,000 square miles was covered with lava, thus resulting in the formation of the Deccan. In the Pliocene period due to volcanic activity there commenced the great upheaval to the north, resulting in the formation of the Himalayas. The deterioration of rock on both sides due to the action of rain and glaciers, the collected alluvium of ages brought down by the hill-torrents filled up in course of time the shallow gap and thus gradually the river systems of the Indus and the Ganges were formed and India attained roughly her present shape.

Thus formed India became remarkable for her natural boundaries, being surrounded on all sides by mountains and seas. In ancient times the sea was a formidable barrier against foreign invasions. Crafts from Egypt or Mesopotamia, from China or Java could come with favourable wind to trade with India but the idea of conquest could not be conceived. For the Arabian Sea or the Bay of Bengal was not very easy to cross and there was no country in the East or the West which had a sufficiently strong fleet to undertake the conquest of India. The mountains no doubt contained passes but they could be crossed with difficulty, as most of them were very narrow, high and therefore covered with snow during greater part of the year. The narrowness of these passes made it impossible for barbaric hordes to come in sufficient numbers to overwhelm, far less to obliterate, the settled civilisation of previous ages. Thus her natural boundaries which

made India virtually immune from foreign invasions not only rendered the Indian civilisation at once original and unique in character but also allowed time to her socio-economic institutions to become deep-rooted and in a great measure able to withstand the modifying influences of later invaders.

The socio-economic life of man is equally influenced by the climate and configuration of his habitat. His food supply, which depends on the climate and soil influences him directly and regulates his efforts. Moreover, climate influences his capacity for labour. People of warmer regions are less active and vigorous than men of cooler regions. The Indo-Aryans of the Vedic Age when they lived in the cooler climate of the Punjab and U. P. were famous for their martial prowess and spirit of adventure which were for a long time kept alive by the necessity of holding their own against the non-Aryans. But when after the resistance of the non-Aryans was broken they had settled in the Gangetic plain for a certain amount of time the enervating influence of the warm climate told upon them and made them languid and fond of repose and thus unable to follow habitually any standard of good workmanship or to soar always the height of workmanship of which they were capable. In warmer latitudes early marriages are always universal and hence the rate of birth is very high and consequently we find 'a low respect for human life'. For this reason Indo-Aryan society of the Vedic Age is not marked by early marriage which grew up along with the pernicious custom of infanticide in the warmer parts of the country. Men of warmer regions require simple food, clothing and housing while people of cooler regions require strong drink and nourishing food to sustain them and such clothing and dwelling house as may protect them against weather. Hence in the comparatively drier regions the entrance and enclosure aspects of the dwelling house were more prominent and the references to these features and their figurative use accordingly occur in texts like the Rgveda which were mainly of Midlandic origin. With the march of Aryan arms into the rain-flooded lower Gangetic valley the roof naturally had to be built up carefully and we therefore find much care bestowed on the construction of the thatched roof in the house-construction outlined in the Atharvaveda, which is pre-eminently a book of the Angirases, who are definitely located in and

associated with the very same lower Gangetic provinces in Pauranic tradition. For similar reasons the Vedic Aryans who lived in the cooler climate of the Punjab and U. P. wore dress mostly made of wool and ate food in which wheat, wine and meat formed a principal part. With the progress of Aryan arms into the warmer eastern parts of the country we find a growing dislike for wine and meat, specially beef and the substitution of rice for wheat as food and of linen, cotton and silk for woolen dress.

Owing to the rigours of climate, however, the realms of snow in the Himalayan regions long remained devoid of culture and economic progress while in the rainless and very hot climate of the sandy desert of Rajputna man long remained a semi-nomad moving from place to place in search of good pasturage for his flock. In the Indo-Gangetic plains, on the other hand, the genial climate (which is 'milder than the climate of most other countries in the same latitude'), the rich soil and the large navigable rivers have produced their natural effects. Progress of agriculture became rapid and settled life began very early with all its concomitants—land system, village system, etc. Prosperous cities sprang up on the banks of rivers which afforded every facility for trade and communication while the abundance of agricultural and mineral wealth led to an early growth of industry, and the navigability of the rivers coupled with a long coast-line gave birth to maritime and trading activity. Under the glaring tropical Sun the moist soil became fertile beyond imagination, producing for man in lavish abundance all that he needs for life. But it also subdued the mind with the overwhelming force of its fecundity. It could not have been otherwise than that the exuberance of tropical Nature should have captivated the mind of man, stirring up his imagination, filling it with brilliant designs or patterns for his handiwork and fostering in him a love of contemplation and luxurious ease. Indeed the genial climate and the rich soil bringing the means of subsistence within easy reach left men sufficiently at leisure to develop the higher arts of civilisation.

Climate determines not only the productive activity and standard of living of man but also the productivity of his fields and the nature and amount of his harvests. Wheat, for instance, which requires a cool climate

is the principal crop of the Punjab while rice which flourishes in warm but damp regions is the chief crop of the lower valley of the Ganges. Cotton, hemp etc., have likewise their localised area in keeping with climatic causes. Climate thus exercises a direct influence on agriculture and an indirect one on industry.

India has been blessed with different varieties of soil which combined with the great variety of physical features, climate and rainfall enable her to produce almost every kind of vegetable life, so that agriculture naturally became the mainstay of her people from time immemorial. Among the four important varieties of soil in India the alluvial soil is usually rich in phosphoric acid, potash, lime and magnesia and is suitable for the growth of kharif and rabi crops. The trap soils which occupy the next place of honour produce, when porous and light as on uplands and hill-slopes, millets and pulses and when thick and more fertile as in the low lands, cotton and wheat besides millets and pulses. Regar or black cotton soil, supposed to be of volcanic origin is highly compact, tenacious and retentive of moisture and is therefore particularly favourable to the growth of cotton and rabi crops though kharif crops also are conveniently grown in many cases. Crystalline soils which widely differ in different provinces agree in being generally deficient in nitrates and phosphoric acids. "The clayey and brownish loams of the low lands are however fertile" and favourable to the growth of a great variety of crops, principal among them being rice.

India is equally famous for her vast forest areas. The Vedas speak of forests repeatedly. The Rāmāyaṇa describes at length the forest region to the east and south of Mithilā and speaks of the Pañchavaṭi forest and the celebrated Dandakāraṇya. In the Buddhist literature we read of the Andhavana of Kośala, the Sitāvana of Magadha, Pacīnavamsa-dāya of the Sākiya territory and of the Mahākalinga forest. Besides helping the progress of agriculture by storing up rain-water in the soil and by keeping the atmosphere sufficiently cool so as to cause the fall of rain when rain-bearing clouds pass over them, these forests supplied an essential part of the economic needs of the people. They provided them with wild rice (nīvāra), esculent vegetables, fuel and with the materials for the construction of houses, chariots, boats, domestic furniture, sacrificial implements and



animals. They were a constant source of supply of medicinal herbs and plants as well as of sacrificial grass. They also supplied the people with aloe, bdellium, spikenard, resin, comphor, sandalwood, lac, hides, fruits and honey.

India is also blessed with the soil and climate capable of bearing animals useful to man. From the economic point of view the domestic animals are more useful than wild ones. Of the former horses and elephants were used for riding and transport purposes, both in peace and war; asses, mules, bullocks and buffaloes were used as beasts of burden or in drawing waggons while the horse and the bullock helped in the cultivation of the soil. The cow, sheep and goat supplied the people with milk or with flesh and hides. The cow-dung was used as manure or as fuel in the form of cow-dung cakes while the wool of the sheep and the goat was made into blankets. The people obtained a supply of musk from the musk-deer, chāmaras from the tail of the yak and skins from the wild boar, the wild deer and the black antelope. The tusks of wild elephants, skins of the tiger and the lion and the horn and bones of some of the animals were also used for various purposes.

The Greeks when they came to India were struck with the mineral wealth of India whose importance in the economic development of the country could never be exaggerated. Gold was obtained by Indians even in prehistoric times not only from river-washings but also from gold-bearing quartz and by the end of the Vedic period they became familiar with zinc, lead and iron in addition to gold, silver, copper and tin. In the words of Megasthenes "The soil too has underground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold, silver, copper and iron in no small quantity and even tin and other metals which are employed in making articles of ornament and of use as well as the implements and accoutrements of war" (Bk. I. Fragment 1. Cf. Diodorus II. 36). Diamond and salt mines existed and varieties of precious stones and oyster pearls from pearl-beds on the sea-coast fetched a high price in the western markets.

To crown all, India occupied a position of great advantage, almost at the centre of the Eastern Hemisphere and at the head of the Indian Ocean, so that her trade-routes radiated in all directions—westwards for

Arabia and Egypt, south for Ceylon, south-west for south Africa, and south-east for the Malaya Archipelago and the Far East. No doubt the Indian coast-line is very poor in indentations and land-locked bays but in ancient times when the size of trading vessels was not so large as in our days a large number of fair weather anchorages were available as is proved by the later evidence of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*. The ancient mariners took advantage not only of the monsoons but also of the surface currents or drifts which even now affect the coasts of India. Thus both the East and the West came to be the theatre of Indian commercial activity and gave scope to her artisans and merchants. As Sir William Hunter well remarks "From the earliest days India has been a trading country. The industrial genius of her inhabitants even more than her natural wealth and her extensive sea-board, distinguished her from other Asiatic lands. In contrast with the Arabian peninsula on the west, with the Malaya peninsula on the east or with the equally fertile empire of China, India has always maintained an active intercourse with Europe" (*Indian Empire*, third edition, p. 958). As a consequence she had the balance of trade clearly in her favour, a balance which could only be settled by the export of precious metals from the countries, commercially indebted to her. For a genial climate and a fertile soil, coupled with the industrial genius of her people and a judicious distribution of land among all classes made India virtually independent of foreign nations in respect of necessities of life while the ideal of simple living and high thinking must have rendered the secondary wants of the mass of the people very limited in number. Thus has she been for many centuries the final depository of a large portion of the metallic wealth of the world. It was this flow or "drain" of gold into India which so far back as the first century A. D. was the cause of alarm and regret to Pliny. It was probably also the same flow of gold into the country that even earlier still in the fifth century B. C. enabled the small Indian satrapy of Darius to pay him 360 Eubolic talents of gold, worth fully £ 1,290,000 and constituting about one-third of the total bullion revenue of the Asiatic provinces (*Herodotus III*).

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# THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA.

## CHAPTER I.

### The Palæolithic Age.

“The pleasant belief of poets that primitive man enjoyed in an earthly paradise a golden age free from sin, sorrow, want and death finds no support from the researches of sober, matter-of-fact science. On the contrary, abundant and conclusive evidence proves that the earliest man whether in India, Europe or elsewhere were rude savages, cowering for shelter under rocks or trees or roughly housed in Caves and huts.”<sup>1</sup> He does not know how to pasture cattle or to cultivate the land. He does not know private property in land and division of labour. He was ignorant of any metal and even of pottery. He was dependent for tools or weapons of all kinds on sticks, stones and bones. The sticks of course have perished and the bones have mostly shared the same fate on account of the white ants. The stone implements laboriously shaped by chipping into forms suitable for hammering, cutting, boring and scrapping are found in large numbers in many parts of India. Apart from the Burma find containing stone implements “showing distinct traces of having been worked by man”<sup>2</sup> the Godavari flake furnishes “evidence in India of the existence of man at a much earlier period than Europe.”<sup>3</sup> According to Obermaier the Godavari flake was probably used in scraping the bark from branches and smoothing them down into poles; while the rough Coup-de-poing type as we get in Nerbada is well adapted to dividing flesh and dressing hides. The Godavari and Nerbada finds are generally accepted as Pre-Chellean<sup>4</sup> to indicate their Chronological Correlation with Europe.

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<sup>1</sup> Oxford History of India — Vincent A. Smith. p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Keith in the Records of the Geological Survey, Vol. XXXVII. p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. H. F. Blanford in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1867, p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> Osborn in his Men of the Old Stone Age, 1918, pp. 129—30 dates the Pre-Chellean industry at 125,000 years.



At the outset the occurrence of rocks suitable for fashioning tools and weapons no doubt played a great part in the selection of habitation sites by early Palæolithic Indians. Quartzine stone is specially suitable for the making of tools and weapons and therefore they mustered strong in the Cuddapah, Guntur and Nellore districts and the neighbouring tracts of Madras where quartzite abounds. As large migrations ceased and comparatively settled life began, they developed æsthetic instincts in the choice of colours and progressed in craftsmanship. A distinct progress is discernible from the Burma find to the Godavari flake which is "formed from a compact light-coloured agate"<sup>5</sup> and the more southern the find the better the finish. The proximity of rivers to rocks highly suitable for implements also helped them in the selection of habitation sites. The palæoliths obtained from Dhenkenal, Angul, Talchir, Sambalpur, Chakradharpur, Nuagardh, Ghatsila, Morhana Pahar, Partabgunj and Jubbulpur unmistakably prove that the banks of the Suvarṇarekhā, the Sangai, the Bijnai and their affluents flowing eastwards as well as other rivers draining into the Ganges or its affluents north-eastwards from high plateaux were as much centres of palæolithic culture as the South Indian rivers. Probably also in some cases Palæolithic settlements sprang up near by lakes. At Heera and Chik Mulungi, about twenty miles above Kaira a large variety of weapons has been found which belong to this age.

In the Billa Surgam Caves of Karnaul at least two hundred bone weapons and implements have been found. Awls, many kinds of arrow-heads, small daggers, scrapers, chisels, gouge, wedges, axe-heads etc., form part of the various kinds of things which bear definite traces of being worked up by man. Definite proof exists of the use of stones as well by these Cave-dwellers. Thus in the Cathedral Cave of Billa Surgam 'two or three bones were found showing distinct traces of having been scraped with a hard and sharp implement the marks being such as would be made by a sharp stone flake'. The flesh of the animals killed by these mighty hunters might have been smoked before being taken as the presence of the cinder plainly brings out the existence of fire.

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<sup>5</sup> Dr. Oldham in the record of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. I, p. 65.

## CHAPTER II.

### The Neolithic Age.

In the next stage of human advance, men were for a long time still ignorant of metals except gold and were consequently obliged to continue using stone tools and weapons. The stone implements and weapons were ground, grooved and polished and thus converted into highly finished objects adapted to diverse purposes. Their main types are: (1) grooved axe with pecked groove; (2) celt with (a) blade thick near edge, (b) with long slender form, (c) with nearly round section, with nearly diamond section, with nearly rectangular section; (3) wedge-form; (4) chisel-form; (5) chipped shade; (6) pestle; and (7) hammer-stone. These can be studied to special advantage in the Bellary district where Fraser discovered in 1872 the north Bellary and Kapgallu Neolithic remains. The north-east slope of the hill here was apparently a Neolithic factory-site and the largest manufacturing industry of polished stones with tools in every stage of manufacture flourished there.

The Neolithic Indians were no longer mere hunters but cultivators as well, as the abundant varieties of mealing stones, corn-crushers and pounding stones prove. In fact, the people were rather vegetarian than carnivorous like the preceding men of the Old Stone Age, as the peaceful implements far out-number the weapons for war.

By this time many of them learnt to live in thatched primitive huts as the presence of straw in the cinder-mounds clearly prove. In their articles for domestic use they showed great fascination for colour. Their knives, saws, drills and lancets were made of beautiful chert, agate chalcedony, blood-stone and rock-crystal and went to make up the comforts of their economic household.

The Neolithic Indians used pottery which was "dull-coloured and rough-surfaced with but little decoration."<sup>6</sup> The finds are distributed

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<sup>6</sup> Bruce-Foote in *Notes on the Ages and Distribution of the Foote Collection of Indian Pre-historic and Proto-historic Antiquities, Madras, 1216, p. 34.*

through the district of Anantapur, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Tinnevely, Baroda, Kathiwar, Beluchistan and other regions. Some of the Bellary potteries were "impressed with finger-tips five or four or two in number. A note worthy form is vessels pierced with a certain number of holes in two pieces of grey pottery from the same place four or ten in number. Closely associated with these are forms analogous to the fabric-marked pottery of which one has been reported in Travancore stape and to which class may be assigned a large number of those described as impressed with fillets of the simplest type which appear to have been so common in Neolithic India. An equally common form is the grooved pattern, two, three or sometimes even fourteen lines incised which is often varied by impressed or raised ring designs."

Gold is obtained directly from quartz veins and it is well known that Palæolithic Indians were very fond of milk-white quartz. "Many old workings have been met with along with outcrops of the veins in Chota Nagpur with large number of grooved stones which had been used for crushing and grinding the quartz."<sup>8</sup> The remains of ancient workings are also found in the Wynaad district of Malabar, Nilgiri and in Mysore.<sup>9</sup> A Neolithic settlement of gold miners existed at Maski in the modern state of Hyderabad where the gold-miners' shafts were the deepest in the world. Its yellow colour was the cause of its early use and a like case is of several finely coloured gem-stones used in the making of beads which were used for ornamental as well as ritual purposes.<sup>10</sup>

These primitive peoples were not altogether devoid of the artistic sense as the rock paintings near Singanpur in the Raigarh district of the Central Provinces seem to prove. "The pigment was probably applied by means of bamboo or reed brushes, the implement most likely

<sup>7</sup> Professor Panchanan Mitra in *Pre-historic India*, Second edition, 1927, pp. 399—400.

<sup>8</sup> La Touche, *Bibliography of Indian Geology*, Article on "Gold."

<sup>9</sup> Gowland on Metals in Antiquity in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XVIII. p. 260.

<sup>10</sup> Bruce-Foote has pointed out that the Neolithic settlement in the Bellary district gradually acquired the knowledge of iron-making industry as some small pottery (tuyere) suitable for protection against direct flame action of the nozzle of a small bellows was found in the Neolithic stratum.

used being a stiff blunt point, rather than a brush and the treatment of some of the painted surfaces seems to prove this ... The drawings are mostly executed in flat washes of one colour, although there are certain traces of shading and modelling, but these are very indistinct and barely discernible. The soft effect of the outline of the paintings may be due to age, or to the porous nature of the rock having absorbed the pigment.

..... The subjects are (a) hunting scenes, (b) groups of figures, (c) picture-writing or hieroglyphics and (d) drawings of animals, reptiles, etc..... The chief artistic feature of these Raigarh paintings lies in their spirited expression and spontaneity of treatment. A strong family likeness may be noticed between these cave paintings and the patterns on what is called the "cross-lined" pottery of pre-historic Egypt. In these the men are represented in the "triangular style", a method of drawing adopted by many primitive races of ancient and modern times."<sup>11</sup> Equally interesting are the no less than twenty groups of figures of birds and beasts executed on rocks in the Neolithic site of Kapgallu in the Bellary district found by H. Knox<sup>12</sup> and the cave-paintings in the Kymore ranges discovered by John Cockburn.<sup>13</sup>

No less striking are the series of sculptures occurring in the Edakal Cave, Wynaad. "The most interesting features of the sculpture are the frequent human figures with peculiar headdress. There are several rather indistinct figures of animals. The usual Indian symbols are of frequent occurrence, *e.g.*, the swastika and specimens of the familiar circular 'sun-symbols'. There is evidence also of magic squares."<sup>14</sup> That they belonged to the Neolithic times may be judged from the find of a fragment of a well-shaped and polished celt from the place. To the same cultural horizon, at least so far as the style was concerned, belonged a group of rock-carvings discovered by Professor Panchanan Mitra and party in the

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<sup>11</sup> Mr. Percy Brown's Notes on the prehistoric cave paintings at Raigarh in Prof. Panchanan Mitra's Prehistoric India, pp. 464—65, 467—68.

<sup>12</sup> Bruce-Foote in Notes on the Ages, etc. pp. 87—89.

<sup>13</sup> Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1889, New Series, Vol. XXXI, pp. 89—97

<sup>14</sup> F. Fawcett in Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXX (1901) p. 413.

Maubhandar village of Singhbhum.<sup>15</sup> That they belonged to Neolithic times may be judged from the find of a Neolithic axe from the place.

The Neolithic Indians learnt the use of graves which have been discovered by John Cockburn in the Mirzapur district, U. P.<sup>16</sup> The tombs were surrounded by stone circles. Many pre-historic cemeteries exist in the Tinnevely district along the coast of the Tāmraparṇī river, the most ancient seat of the pearl and conch-shell industry. This connection between the early settlements on the Tāmraparṇī river and the pearl-fishery is not an isolated fact. Professor Elliot Smith<sup>17</sup> rightly observes: "Ancient miners in search of metals or precious stones or in other cases pearlfishers had in every case established camps to exploit these varied sources of wealth and the megalithic monuments represent their tombs and temples."

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<sup>15</sup> Professor Panchanan Mitra's Prehistoric India pp. 201—202.

<sup>16</sup> Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. II. pp. 95—96.

<sup>17</sup> Manchester Memoirs, Vol. LX. Part I. 1915, p. 29 of reprint.

## CHAPTER III.

### The Copper Age.

As the Neolithic Age gradually passed away in Northern India, it appears to have given place not to an Age of Bronze as it did in most parts of Europe but to one of Copper. In Southern India on the other hand, stone tools were superseded directly by iron without any intermediate step.<sup>18</sup> Six bronze weapons of which three are harpoons, one a celt, one a spearhead and the last a sword have been noticed by Vincent Smith and no less than 123 bronze objects are recorded by Mr. Rea and we find not quite a small number in the Patna Museum. But all these were used as adornments or mere exotics. Among the Copper Age antiquities are bare and shouldered celts, harpoons, spear heads both plain and barbed, axe-heads, swords and an object suggestive of the human shape. The last mentioned as well as some of the swords which are remarkable for their excessive weight and the form of their handles may have been used for cult purposes. One hoard of these implements which came from Gungeria in the Central Provinces contained as many as 424 specimens of almost pure metal, weighing in all 829 pounds besides 102 ornamental laminae of silver. Such a collection comprising as it did, a variety of implements intended for domestic and other purposes affords evidence enough, as Dr. Smith has remarked, that their manufacture was conducted in India on an extensive scale; while the distinctive types that have been evolved and are represented both in this and other finds connote a development that must already have extended over a long period, though at the same time, the barbed spear-heads and harpoons and flat celts manifestly copied from neolithic prototypes bespeak a relatively high antiquity. The presence of silver ornaments in the Gungeria hoard has suggested doubts as to its remote date but there seems little reason for assuming that a race familiar with the difficult metallurgical processes by which copper is extracted from its ores were incapable of smelting silver from the rich argentiferous galenas which occur in various localities.

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<sup>18</sup> The Copper Age and the Pre-historic Bronze Implements of India by V. A. Smith in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 229f and Vol. XXXVI, p. 53f.



Information of equally fascinating interest to the student of economic history is furnished by the sepulchral remains found in the Tinnevely, Kurnool, Coimbatore and Anantapur districts as well as in the Nizam's dominions. The smaller earthen vessels found in the burial sites at Adichanallur in Tinnevely<sup>19</sup> closely resemble objects of pre-historic pottery found in Egypt and many exhibit a characteristic red and black polished surface, which was the result of friction and not of a true fused glaze. It is interesting to find rice husks in many of these earthen utensils. The iron articles include swords, daggers, spear-heads, agricultural implements resembling the modern "mammutti", tridents, peculiar "hangers" probably used for the suspension of iron saucer lamps of which several have been found. Though much fewer in number the bronze articles are executed with higher skill than those in iron and comprise objects like scent-bottles, rings, bangles and bracelets. There are sieves in bronze in the form of perforated cups fitted into small basins. The only objects discovered in any of the precious metals are oval frontlets of gold leaf. In Kurnool burial sites<sup>20</sup> no stone or metal implements or weapons or beads or jewelleries have been found. The only objects obtained are domestic vessels made of a buff-coloured pottery, neatly turned on a wheel and well-baked. There are also large food and water jars of a deep red colour, glazed and ornamented with incised lines and a few simple raised mouldings. The sepulchral remains in Coimbatore<sup>21</sup> contain pottery, domestic vessels, a few beads, corroded iron implements such as knives and spear blades. Most of the tombs of the Anantapur district are provided with circular ring of stones all round and are of the usual rectangular shape, with four stone-sides and a heavy capstone above. A circular hole laboriously cut through one of the solid side-slabs was possibly intended as a passage for the soul on its return to earth. Though the Egyptian process of embalming appears to have been unknown, similar care was taken to preserve the remains of the

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<sup>19</sup> Mr. A. Rea's Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Southern Circle, 1902—1903 pp. 111—140.

<sup>20</sup> Longhurst's Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Madras, 1914—1915 pp. 39—41.

<sup>21</sup> N. J. Walhouse's Notes on the Megalithic monuments of Coimbatore district, Madras in J. R. A. S., New series, Vol. VII.

dead by placing them in earthen jars or urns, carefully sealed with clay ; while the almost cyclopean nature of the construction of some of the tombs rival those of Egypt in point of durability. It is equally worthy of note that tombs of this kind are only found in Southern and Western India which seems to point to western influence.<sup>22</sup> The sepulchral remains discovered by Dr. Hunt in the Nizam's dominions<sup>23</sup> include potteries, some of which bear marks closely resembling early forms of the "ka" mark of Egypt, dishes, bells and ornaments made of copper as well as weapons, arrow-heads, knives, spears, axes, sickles and tridents made of iron.

Having regard to this development of industry it seems desirable to say a few words with regard to the condition of currency that may have prevailed in this country before the advent of the Aryans. "I can quite imagine some doubt crossing the minds of most of my readers" says Professor D. R. Bhāṇḍarkar "as to how I could even surmise the state of currency in pre-vedic India. But what Professor Ridgeway has done in regard to the pre-historic or proto-historic currency of Greece can also be attempted on a modest scale in regard to India, provided we follow his method which is typically the anthropological method." It is possible to study the various kinds of currency in use among the savage tribes of various stages of civilisation and compare them to the similar ones that were prevalent in India. Now the earliest stage of civilisation is taken to be the Hunting stage. No form of currency belonging to this stage, such as skins of hunting animals is known to us from any composition of the Vedic period or from any other source. As the Hunting age passes to the Pastoral and animals are domesticated, the animal itself, not its skin, becomes the unit of value. The most common of such animals in India is the cow which is found mentioned in the Rigveda. Thus there is a hymn in this Veda<sup>24</sup> where Indra *i.e.*, his image is offered as a fetish

<sup>22</sup> Longhurst's Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Madras, 1912—1913, pp. 57f.

<sup>23</sup> E. H. Hunt's Hyderabad Cairn burials and their significance in the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LIV. 1925, pp. 140—156 ; F. J. Richards' Note on some Iron Age graves in North Arcot district, Ibid, pp. 157—165.

<sup>24</sup> IV. 24. 10.

for ten cows and another<sup>25</sup> where Indra is considered to be so invaluable that not a hundred, a thousand or a myriad of cows is thought to be a proper price. As the Pastoral develops into the Agricultural stage, a number of agricultural products come to be used as currency. It is in this agricultural stage that commerce is found to develop itself and a greater number of objects are found capable of being used as measures of value, such as garments, coverlets and goat-skins which were so employed in the time of the Athava-veda.<sup>26</sup> Thus we see that traces of the various circulating media of these various stages of civilisation are clearly found in the Samhitā portion of the Vedas and they must have survived down to the Vedic epoch from previous stages of civilisation.

We may also note here that there are not one or two but many pre-historic symbols to be found on the punch-marked coins.<sup>27</sup> Mr. Theobald has observed not less than fourteen symbols engraved on the sculptured stones of Scotland. There was a time when Fergusson and archæologists of his kind relegated the rude stone implements of Great Britain to the post-Roman period but to-day no archæologist of any repute disputes its pre-historic character. When therefore we find so many pre-historic symbols occurring on the punch-marked coins, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Kārṣṭapaṇa coins must have been handed down to us from pre-historic times. If any further evidence is required, it is furnished by the fact, first brought to our notice by Elliot that these punch-marked coins "have been discovered along the ashes of the men who constructed the primitive tombs known as Pāṇdukulis of the south and unearthed from the ruins of buried cities in excavating the head-waters of the Ganges Canal."<sup>28</sup> "A large horde of these coins" says he elsewhere "was discovered in September 1807 at the opening of one of the ancient tombs known by the name of Pāṇdukulis near the village of Chavadipaleiyam in Coimbatore, thus identifying the employment of this kind of money with the aboriginal race whose places of sepulchre are scattered over every part of Southern India."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> VIII. 1. 5.

<sup>26</sup> IV. 7. 6.

<sup>27</sup> cf. J. B. O. R. S. 1920, p. 400.

<sup>28</sup> INO. cs i. 45.

<sup>29</sup> Madras Journal of Literature and Science, 1838. p. 227.

## The Chalcolithic Civilisation of the Indus Valley.

The surprising discoveries by Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni at Harappa in the Mont-gomery district of the Punjab and by Babu Rakhal Das Bannerji at Mohenjo Daro in the Larkana district of Sindh have proved the existence of a new kind of coins and have established beyond doubt the fact that five thousand years ago the people of the Punjab and Sind were living in well-built cities and were in possession of a relatively mature civilisation with a high standard of art and craftsmanship and a developed system of writing—a civilisation as highly developed and seemingly as widespread as the Sumerian culture of Mesopotamia with conclusive evidence of a close contact between the two.<sup>30</sup> The recent discoveries by Mr. N. G. Mazumdar<sup>31</sup> of a remarkable series of pre-historic sites in western Sind between the Indus and the Khirthar range reveal a wider diffusion of this Indus culture and link up the zone of Chalcolithic civilisation of Sind with the area surveyed by Sir Anrid Stein in Southern Beluchistan; and there is evidence to show that it extended over Cutch and Kathiawar towards the Deccan.

Like the Egyptians of the Nile valley or the Sumerians and Babylonians of the Tigris-Euphrates valley the Indus people were provided by Nature with ample opportunities for agriculture on a flat plain subjected to floods. There are strong reasons for inferring that Sind was then watered by two large rivers instead of one and was, as a consequence, at once more fertile and less subject to floods. The two rivers are the Indus and the old great Mihran, otherwise known as the Hakra or Wahindah which once received the waters of the Sutlej and flowed well to the east of the Indus, following a course which roughly coincided with that of the Eastern Nara Canal. Moreover, the country was blessed with a greater rainfall and consequently had better prospects of agriculture. For this, evidence is furnished by the large number of street-drains and the rain-water pipes discovered at Mohenjo-Daro, the universal use of burnt instead

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<sup>30</sup> Sir John Marshall—*Prehistoric Civilisation of the Indus Valley* in the *Illustrated London News*, January 7 and 14, 1928; February 27 and March 7, 1926; also in *Times of India Illustrated Weekly*, 7th March 1926.

<sup>31</sup> *Explorations in Sind*, published by the Govt. of India, Delhi, 1934.

of sun-dried bricks in its buildings and the representation on the seals of the tiger, the rhinoceros and the elephant who favour a moist climate.<sup>32</sup> Some significance should also be attached in this connection to the preponderance of vegetation motifs on the painted pottery of Mohenjo-Daro and other contemporary sites in the Indus valley. Though little has yet been discovered of the processes of cultivation and irrigation then in vogue it is worthy of note that the specimens of wheat found in Mohenjo-Daro resemble the common variety grown in the Punjab to-day.

Hunting and fishing continued to be the occupation of a large section of the people. In their houses bones of the Gharial, boar, sheep and the bovine species as well as the shells of tortoises and turtles have been found, sometimes in a half-burnt condition, so that the conclusion is irresistible that besides bread and milk, fish from the rivers and the flesh of these animals formed their food.

The principal domestic animals, besides the cow and the sheep, were the humped long-horned bull, the buffalo, the short-horned bull, pigs, horse, elephant and dogs. The breed of Brahmini bulls as depicted on the seals seems to be every whit as good five thousand years ago as it is to-day.

The Babylonian and Greek names for cotton—Sindh and Sindon respectively—have always pointed to Sind as the home of cotton-growing and it is interesting to note that numerous spindle whorls in the debris of houses have been found, thus proving the practice of spinning and weaving. That the weaving material was cotton from the cotton plants of the genus *Gossypium* and not cotton from the silk-cotton tree has been proved by the discovery at Mohenjo-Daro of cotton of the former kind, with the typical convoluted structure which is the peculiar characteristic of that fibre. Even scraps of a fine woven cotton material have been found.

The dress among the upper classes consisted of two garments: a skirt fastened round the waist like the primitive Sumerian skirt and a plain and patterned shawl which was drawn over the left and under the right shoulder, so as to leave the right arm free. Earrings, bangles, girdles and

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<sup>32</sup> The lion which prefers arid and sparsely covered country does not occur.

anklets were worn by women while necklaces and finger-rings were worn by men and women of all classes, rich or poor. The ornaments of the latter were mainly of shell and terracotta while those of the rich were of silver and gold or copper plated with gold, of blue faience, ivory, cornelian, jadeite and multi-coloured stones of various kinds. Beads and bangles made of bronze, bangles and other ornaments made of shell (sank) were also in common use. The seals were sometimes worn by a cord round the neck or waist or as amulets. The girdles of cornelian and gilded copper as some of the earrings and "netting" needles of pure gold have so fine a polish on their surface that it would do credit to a modern jeweller.

The Indus people were familiar not only with gold and silver as the various ornaments made from them show but also with copper, tin and lead. Copper which was obtained from Beluchistan on the west and from Afghanistan on the north was mostly used for weapons and implements like daggers, hatchets and celts as well as for domestic utensils like vessels, chisels, sickles, knives etc. Personal ornaments, amulets and statuettes were also made of copper. Most of these objects were wrought by hammering though examples of cast copper are by no means uncommon. A unique object made of copper, found in a low stratum at Harappa is a model of a two-wheeled cart with a gabled roof and driver seated in front. This is the oldest known example of a wheeled vehicle older than the steel fragment with the picture of a chariot recently found by Woolney at Ur in Sumer.

The finds of bronze objects as compared with copper are small, doubtless owing to the difficulty and cost of obtaining tin. Tin was probably imported from Khorasan or through Sumer from further west, to be alloyed with copper to form bronze as the remains of bronze vessels, statuettes, bangles, beads and buttons show. Specially striking is the use of bronze in making tools like razors, chisels and celts which require a hard cutting edge.

Pottery was well-known and common domestic vessels were of earthenware. They have a great variety of shapes, though it is curious how few of the vases are provided with handles. Most of the pottery is of plain

undecorated red colour, but painted pottery is not uncommon. As a rule the designs are painted in black, on a darkish red slip. This dark and red Indus ware has been found in abundance by Sir Anrid Stein in N. Beluchisthan and along the Waziristhan borderland and more sparsely in Sistan. A few specimens of polychrome decoration in red, white and black have also been met with at Mohenzo-Daro. Blue encaustic faience of a kind similar to that found in Mesopotamia and Egypt also played an important part in the making of miniature vases, ornaments, amulets and the like while a finer and harder variety of this paste was used for finishing off the surface of seals.

The remains laid bare at Mohenzo-Daro belong to the three latest cities on the site, each erected successively on the ruins of their predecessors. The date of these remains can be determined within tolerably narrow limits by the discovery at Susa and several sites in Mesopotamia of typical Indian seals inscribed with Indian pictographic legends, in positions which leave no doubt that they belonged to the period before Sarpon I, that is, before about 2,700 B. C. On another seal of the same pattern recently unearthed at Ur in Sumer, the legend is in cuniform characters of about 2,700 B. C. It may be inferred, therefore, that this class of Indian seals is to be assigned to the first half of the third millenium B. C. or earlier; and in as much as seals of this class are associated with the three uppermost cities at Mahenzo-Daro we may confidently fix the date of these cities between 3,500 and 2,500 B. C.

A bird's eye of the uppermost city at Mohenzo-Daro would reveal that the streets and lanes were laid out regularly according to a plan. The roads were broad and alignment of houses very good. The roads were broad enough to admit of all kinds of traffic and their surface was sometimes hardened with solid materials. The buildings abutting on the streets and lanes were so built, the walls being broad at the base and narrowing towards the top, that as the level of the streets and lanes rose, their width increased. There were central drainage channels in every street fed by subsidiary drains in the lanes.

The dwelling-houses of Mohenzo-Daro, though bare of all ornament are made of well-burnt brick, usually laid in mud but occasionally in

gypsum (plaster of Paris) mortar with foundations and infillings of sun-dried brick. The laying of the bricks suggested the use of instruments of level. One interesting feature of the houses was that all of them opened in by-lanes. Further, there was no direct access from the doorway into the house, but one had to pass through a room into a courtyard and then to the rooms of the house. Storied houses were very common as the existence of stairways revealed. Roofs were supported by beams and cross beams and roofing was done by spreading reed matting daubed with mud. Another interesting point about the houses was that no two of them had a common wall though they were all built close together in blocks. A narrow space was allowed between the walks of neighbouring houses, the same being walled up at either end. Some of the houses were very spacious and consisted of several rooms besides large courtyards and halls, suited to the accommodation of large families—an indication probably of the existence of joint family system among the Indus people. The houses are equally remarkable for the relatively high degree of comfort evidenced by the presence of brick-flooring bath rooms and wells. Near the wells were paved washing places and the used water was drained away by well-constructed drains which sometimes ran forty or fifty feet before connecting with the street-drain. There were cess pits and small jars used for collecting drainage water at houses.

Outstanding among the buildings at Mohenzo-Daro is a temple with a beautiful public bath. On the four sides of the bathing tank is a boldly fenestered corridor, with a platform in front and small chambers behind. The outer wall which is more than six feet in thickness with a pronounced batter on the outside was pierced by two large entrances on the south and smaller ones on the east and north. At either end of the bath is a descending flight of steps. Like the bath-room floors of the private houses, the floor is laid in finely joined brick-on-edge and remarkable care and ingenuity have been exercised in the construction of the surrounding walls. These walls which are nearly ten feet in thickness are made up of three sections; the inner and outer of burnt brick, the infilling between them of sun-dried brick; but in order to render them completely water-tight, the brick-work has been laid in gypsum mortar and the back



of the inner wall coated with an inch thick layer of bitumen. Bitumen was also used for bedding the wooden planks with which the steps were lined. A number of rooms on the story above, the wells close by to feed the bath with a regular supply of water, the covered drain over six feet in height, furnished with a corbelled vaulted roof by which water was conducted outside the city, and the care taken to secure privacy for each individual resorting to the bath all made the bath one of the finest discoveries in the city.

Though town-planning was not much in evidence in Harappa it was more extensive than Mohenjo-Daro. Its buildings were similar in character to those of Mohenjo-Daro but there is one tolerably well preserved building the like of which has not been found at Mohenjo-Daro. It comprises a number of narrow halls and corridors disposed in two parallel series with a broad aisle down the middle. The plan and the shape of the chambers recall to mind the store-rooms of the Cretan palaces. Small brick-structures somewhat like Hindu samādhis containing cinerary remains as well as a platform partially covered with ashes and half-charred bones which is thought to be a cremation platform have also been found at Harappa.

A new outpost of this Indus civilisation has been discovered in Kathiawar in the state of Limbi which is not far from the Gulf of Cambay; and it was at the ports of Cambay and Broach that the cornelian industry of India was concentrated. When therefore we find an extensive use of this material in the Indus sites, the conclusion may be safely drawn that it was imported from these parts. The Tinnevelley district along the coast of Tāmraparṇī river was the most ancient seat of conch-shell industry and when we find this conch-shell as a typical and very extensively used material in the Indus sites, we may safely assume that it was imported as much from the sea-coast down the Indus as from the south-eastern coast of the Madras Presidency.

Trade was carried on not only with other parts of India but also with countries further west. The affinity between the purely geometric patterns of Amri pottery of W. Sind, of the Kulli and Mehi fabrics of S. Beluchistan and the painted ceramic wares of Sahr-i-Sokhta and other sites in

Sistan, of Tepeh Musyan and Susa in W. Persia, of Al-Ubaid and Samarra in Mesopotamia together with the occurrence of a figure closely resembling the Sumerian hero-god Eabani depicted on some Mohenzo-Daro seals is clear evidence of a close contact between these contiguous areas. But notwithstanding these and other points of similarity<sup>33</sup> the art of the Indus valley is distinct from that of any neighbouring country. Some of the figures on the engraved seals—notably the humped Indian bulls and short-horned cattle—are distinguished by a breadth of treatment and a feeling for line and form unequalled in the contemporary glyptic art of Elam or Mesopotamia or Egypt. The modelling too in faience of the miniature rams, monkeys, dogs and squirrels is of a very high order, far in advance of what we can expect in the fourth or third millenium B. C. Similarly, the houses recently unearthed by Mr. Woolney in Ur no doubt suggest an interesting parallel to those of Mohenzo-Daro but they are by no means equal in point of construction to those of the latter nor are they provided with drains of finely chiselled brick, covered with limestone slabs and connected with the main drain in the street. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible—and it is being daily strengthened by the progress of exploration in the Indus valley—that whatever similarity we find between this Indus culture and the Sumerian civilisation of Mesopotamia, it is due not necessarily to actual identity of culture but to intimate commercial and other intercourse between these countries. Tin, as we have seen, was probably imported from Khorasan or through Sumer from further west, and bitumen from Beluchistan. Dr. Sayce in his Hibbert Lectures for 1887 on the Origin and Growth of Religion among the Babylonians has proved the existence of commerce between India and Babylon as early as 3000 B. C. The discovery by Rassam of Indian cedar in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar and of Indian teak in the temple of the moon-god at Ur refounded by Nebonidus, the use of the word “Sindh” for muslin in an old Babylonian list of clothes certainly point to commercial intercourse between India and Babylon. The bas-reliefs of the temple of Deir-el-Bahari at Thebes

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<sup>33</sup> Sumerian connections with Ancient India—by E. Mackay in J. R. H. S. 1925, pp. 697—701.

which represents the conquest of the land of Punt under Hatasu contain a picture in which is described the booty which the Pharoah is carrying to Egypt. And in this booty, according to Leormant "appear a great many Indian animals and products not indigenous to the soil of yemen—elephant's teeth, gold, precious stones, sandal-wood and monkeys."<sup>34</sup>

We have already seen that the smaller earthen vessels found in the burial sites at Adichanallur in Tinnevely closely resemble objects of pre-historic pottery found in Egypt. Some of the potteries discovered from the sepulchral remains in the Nizam's dominions bear marks which, according to Dr. Hunt, closely resemble early forms of the "Ka" mark of Egypt. We have also seen how from the nature of construction and the contents found in the tombs of Anantapur district the religious belief of the primitive peoples who constructed them seems to have been much the same as that held by the ancient Egyptians regarding man's life after death.) On one of the faience sealings discovered in Mohenzo-Daro is a row of four standards borne aloft by men, each of which supports a totem figure remarkably like the well-known totem standards of the Egyptian names. The resemblance is so striking that it might almost be supported that this particular sealing was an import from pre-dynastic Egypt, were it not that it is inscribed on the reverse with an Indian pictographic legend. Long ago there was a school of orientalisists who believed in the colonisation of Ethiopia and Egypt from N. W. India and the Himalayan provinces. Indeed if the people to whom the Indus civilisation was attributed had occupied cities for at least 500 to 1000 years, it is quite possible that the natural growth of population must have made them seek fresh fields and pastures for their expansion. In Philostratus an Egyptian is made to remark that he had heard from his forefathers that the Indians were the wisest of men and that the Ethiopians, a Colony of the Indians, preserved the wisdom and usage of their forefathers and acknowledged their ancient origin. We find the same assertion made at a later period in the third century B. C. by Julius Africanus, from whom it has been preserved by Eusebius and

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<sup>34</sup> History of Ancient Del Orient Eng. ed. Vol. II. p. 299 Quoted in Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIII. p. 298.

Syncellus.<sup>35</sup> Philostratus introduces the Brahmin Iarchus by stating to his auditor that the Ethiopians were originally an Indian race compelled to leave India for the impurity contracted by slaying a certain monarch to whom they owed allegiance.<sup>36</sup> Cuvier, quoting Syncellus even assigns the reign of Amenophis as the epoch of the colonisation of Ethiopia from India.<sup>37</sup> Eusibius states that Ethiopians emigrating from the river Indus settled in the vicinity of Egypt.<sup>38</sup> Again, we find great similarity in the names of rivers, towns and provinces of both India and Egypt. "For about ten miles below Attock" says a critic, "the Indus has a clean deep and rapid current; but for about a hundred miles further down to Kalabagh it becomes an enormous torrent. The water here has a dark lead colour and hence the name Nilab or Blue river given as well to the Indus as to a town on its bank about twelve miles below Attock." According to another writer "Aboasin (a classical name for the Indus) gave its name to Abyssinia in Africa"<sup>39</sup> Indian "Suryarikā (Sun-burnt land) is perhaps the Sahara desert of Africa. The names of towns at the estuaries of the Gambia and Senegal rivers, the Tamba Cunda and another Cundas are according to Col. Todd<sup>40</sup> Hindu names. A writer in the Asiatic Journal<sup>41</sup> gives a curious list of the names of places in the interior of Africa, mentioned in Park's Second Journey, which are shown to be all Sanskrit, and most of them actually current in India at the present day. We also find striking similarity in the names of rulers and gods of both India and Egypt. King Rama of India is king Ramses of Egypt. The first Egyptian Solar king Manes sounds like Hindu Manu, the first solar king of India. The bull-bannered Egyptian Isis is Indian Isa. Further the religious systems of India and Egypt "both proceed from monotheistic principles and degenerate into a polytheistic heathenism though rather of a symbolic than of a positive character. The principle

<sup>35</sup> India in Greece by Pococke, p. 205.

<sup>36</sup> India in Greece by Pococke, p. 200.

<sup>37</sup> p. 18 of his "Discourse."

<sup>38</sup> Lemp. Barker's edition, "Meroe."

<sup>39</sup> Heeren's Historical Researches, Vol. II. p. 310.

<sup>40</sup> Todd's Rajasthan, Vol. II. p. 309 footnote.

<sup>41</sup> Vol. IV. p. 325.

of Trinity with that of the Unity, the pre-existence of the soul, its transmigration, the division of castes into priests, warriors, traders and agriculturists are the cardinal points of both systems. Even the symbols are the same on the shores of the Ganges and the Nile. Thus we find the Lingam of the Siva temples of India in the Phallus of the Ammon temple of Egypt—a symbol also met with on the headdress of the Egyptian gods. We find the lotus flower as the symbol of the Sun both in India and in Egypt and we find symbols of the immortality of the soul in both countries. The power of rendering barren women fruitful ascribed to the temples of Siva in India, was also ascribed to the temples of Ammon in Egypt.”<sup>42</sup> Nor is this all. Mr. Pococke has found points of similarity not only in the objects of sculpture but also in the architectural skill and in the grand and gigantic character of the architecture of India and Egypt. Professor Heeren therefore concludes “whatever weight may be attached to Indian tradition and the express testimony of Eusebius confirming the report of the migrations from the banks of the Indus into Egypt, there is certainly nothing improbable in the event itself, as a desire of gain would have formed a sufficient inducement.” But to sober minds it is reasonable only to assume that whatever similarity there might exist between the place-names, the names of gods and kings and the social and religious institutions of ancient India and Egypt, it was the result of early commercial intercourse between the two countries.

In the Book of Genesis<sup>43</sup> we read that Joseph was sold by his brethren to the “Ishmaelites come from Gilead, with their camels, bearing spicery, balm and myrrh going to carry it down to Egypt.” Here, Dr. Vincent observes, we find “a caravan of camels loaded with the spices of India.” Some suppose that myrrh used to be imported into Egypt by the Abyssinians, in whose country it largely grows. But the proof of its importation from India may be found in the name which it took in Egypt. Dr. Royle<sup>44</sup> observes that myrrh is called “bal” by the Egyptians, while its sanskrit name is “bota”, bearing a resemblance which leaves

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<sup>42</sup> Count Bjornstjirna's *Theogony of the Hindus* pp. 40—41.

<sup>43</sup> Chapter XXVII. v. 25.

<sup>44</sup> *Ancient Hindu Medicine*, “Myrrh” p. 119.

no doubt as to its Indian origin. According to Wilkinson<sup>45</sup> the presence of indigo, tamarind-wood and other Indian products found in the tombs of Egypt shows Indian trade relations with the land of the Pharoahs. The evidences of Comparative Philology corroborates this view. Ivory we know was largely used in India, Babylon, Egypt, Greece and Rome. Elephants are indigenous in India and Africa and the trade in ivory must be either of Indian origin or African. But the elephants were scarcely known to the ancient Egyptians<sup>46</sup> and Professor Lassen decides that they were neither used nor tamed in ancient Egypt. In ancient India, however, the elephant was an emblem of royalty and a sign of rank and power and no description of a king's procession or of a battle is to be met with where elephants are not mentioned. Even the god Indra has his "Airāwat." Then the Sanskrit name for a domestic elephant is *ibha* and in ancient Egypt ivory was known by the name of *ebu*. Professor Lassen thinks "that the Sanskrit name *ibha* might easily have reached Egypt through Tyre and become Egyptian *ebu*."<sup>47</sup> Similarly, Sanskrit *kapi* became Egyptian *kafu* and the Hebrew *koph*. This Indo-Egyptian trade is further supported by another erudite scholar the Rev. T. Foulkes<sup>48</sup> who comes to the same conclusion and says "With a very high degree of probability some of the most esteemed of the spices which were carried by the Mediantish merchants of Genesis XXXVII. 25—28 and by the sons of the Pharoah Jacob ( Genesis XLIII. 11 ) had been cultivated in the spice-gardens of the Deccan."

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<sup>45</sup> Ancient Egyptians II. p. 237.

<sup>46</sup> Mrs. Manning—Ancient and Mediæval India, Vol. II. p. 251.

<sup>47</sup> C. Lassen—Indische Alterthumskunde Vol. I. p. 354.

<sup>48</sup> Indian Antiquary, Vol. VIII.

## CHAPTER IV.

### The Rigvedic Age.

The Rigvedic period was an age of migration and settlement. By this time the Aryan invaders had spread over the whole of the region, extending from the Kabul valley upto the Ganges and the Jumnā. In the list of rivers in the Nadī-stuti hymn<sup>49</sup>, and elsewhere we find the names of the Gangā<sup>50</sup>, the Yamunā<sup>51</sup>, the Sarayū<sup>52</sup>, and the Saraswatī<sup>53</sup> and this goes to show the eastern limit of Aryan advance in Rigvedic India. Of the western tributaries of the Indus we find the names of Kubhā<sup>54</sup> (modern Kabul river) the Suvāstu<sup>55</sup> (modern Swat river) the Krumu<sup>56</sup> (modern Kurrum river) and the Gomatī<sup>57</sup> (modern Gomāl) rivers. Though most familiar with the valleys of the Indus and its tributaries the Aryans gradually spread over the greater part of the Ganges valley as well. Thus the Rigveda mentions Kikāṭa<sup>58</sup> which has been identified by some scholars with the country of Magadh.

*Growth of agricultural life and landownership*—The evidence of the science of Comparative Philology in relation to the Indo-European group of languages discloses the fact that the original Aryan stock, though pre-eminently a pastoral people were not unacquainted with agriculture.<sup>59</sup> It appears from the same evidence that during the Indo-Iranian period the Aryans were acquainted with agriculture<sup>60</sup> and we have even direct

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<sup>49</sup> Rigveda X. 75 ;

<sup>52</sup> Rigveda IV. 30. 18 ;  
V. 53. 9 ; X. 64. 9.

<sup>50</sup> Rigveda VI. 45. 31 ; X. 75. 5.

<sup>51</sup> Rigveda V. 52. 17 ; VII. 18. 19 ; VII. 33. 3 ; X. 75. 5.

<sup>53</sup> Rigveda I. 3. 12 ; II. 41. 16 ; III. 4. 8 ; III. 23. 4 ; VI. 52. 6 ; VII. 2. 8 ;  
VII. 36. 6 ; VII. 96 ; X. 64. 9 ; X. 75. 5.

<sup>54</sup> Rigveda V. 53. 9 ; X. 75. 6.

<sup>57</sup> Rigveda VIII. 24. 30 ; X. 75. 6.

<sup>55</sup> Rigveda VIII. 19. 37.

<sup>58</sup> Rigveda III. 53. 14.

<sup>56</sup> Rigveda V. 53. 9 ; X. 75. 6.

<sup>59</sup> Otto Schrader, Reallexikon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde, s. v. Ackerbau, Familie, Stamm, Viehzucht ; Hermann Hirt, Die Indogermanen, I. 251ff.

<sup>60</sup> Keith and Macdonell— Vedic Index, I. p. 181 ( kṛṣi )

reference to agriculture in the *Vendidad*.<sup>61</sup> When one branch of the Aryans ultimately migrated into the land of the five rivers, they found the country already in occupation of alien peoples, some of whom, as we have seen, judged by the wonderful remains of their civilisation in the Indus valley, attained a high level of material greatness; and even the confused and imperfect picture of the aborigines in the *Rigveda* furnishes some hints of their organisation in *pūras* under the rule of Chiefs.<sup>62</sup> By the time even of the earliest hymns of the *Rigveda* the Indo-Aryans had settled down to a peaceful agricultural life and evolved the idea of landownership. The land was divided into *Vāstu*, Arableland, Pasture and Forests. The *Vāstu* was in individual ownership as was also the case with the *Vāstu* of the German Mark. But while the arable land in ancient India was in private ownership throughout, that in the Mark was at first in communal ownership but ultimately in private ownership.

In one hymn of the *Rigveda*<sup>63</sup> we read of an impoverished gambler who is made to take shelter in another's house and the sight of another's prosperity torments him :

✓ “The gambler's wife is left forlorn and wretched :  
 the mother mourns the son who wanders homeless  
 In constant fear, in debt and seeking riches,  
 he goes by night unto the home of others.  
 Sad is the gambler when he sees a matron,  
 another' wife, and his well-ordered dwelling.”

This proves conclusively that houses were owned in severalty and that the owners had the right of transfer. In fact, we constantly read of prayers for the bestowal of houses on individuals :—

“Bestow a dwelling-house on the rich landlords  
 and me and keep thy dart ( O Indra ) afar from these.”<sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> III. 23 and 24 ; also XIV. 10.

<sup>62</sup> Keith and Macdonell—*Vedic Index*, s. v. *Dāsa* ; for references. Compare Rapson—*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I. p. 86.

<sup>63</sup> *Rigveda* X. 34. 10—11.

<sup>64</sup> *Rigveda* VI. 46. 9.



“ Give us, O Mitra-Varuṇa a dwelling safe from  
attack, which ye shall guard, Boon-givers. ”<sup>65</sup>

“ Give ample room and freedom for our dwelling,  
a home, ye Hemispheres, which none may rival. ”<sup>66</sup>

As regards the arable land we have a hymn of the Rigveda<sup>67</sup> which seems to make an indirect reference to the fact that the Aryans after conquering the land of the Dasyus used to share them apparently on a footing of equality. This sharing of the land by all the conquering persons during the Rigvedic age seems to be referred to in the Manu Samhita.<sup>68</sup> Even the priests who officiated at sacrifices for the victory of Aryan arms claimed a share in the war-booty.<sup>69</sup> In one hymn<sup>70</sup> Apātā, the daughter of Atri prays to Indra that something may grow on her father's ( apparently bald ) head and on his plough-land. Even measurement of fields with a rod is referred to :

“ The Ribhus with a rod measured, as it were a field. ”<sup>71</sup> According to Professor Scharder without private ownership we cannot expect fields to be measured in this way. We also meet with epithets like kṣhetrapati, kṣhetrasā, urbarāpati and urbarāsā, meaning lords or owners of fields, pointing to the existence of private ownership.<sup>72</sup>

*No royal ownership of land*—The unit of Indo-Aryan society was the patriarchal family. The authority of the head of the family was very great and an instance of this may be found in the story of Rijraṣva who was robbed of his eyesight by his father Vrishāgir for having slaughtered a hundred sheep for the she-wolf who was one of the asses of the Aswins in disguise.<sup>73</sup> Above the family stood the Viś in the sense of clan and a number of Viś groups formed the whole jana or people.<sup>74</sup> As regards the

<sup>65</sup> Rigveda VI. 50. 3.

<sup>66</sup> Rigveda VI. 67. 2. Compare Rigveda I. 114. 5.

<sup>67</sup> I. 100. 18—19. <sup>70</sup> Rigveda VIII. 91. 5—6.

<sup>68</sup> VII. 97. <sup>71</sup> Rigveda I. 110. 5.

<sup>69</sup> Rigveda I. 180. 9.

<sup>72</sup> Macdonell and Keith — Vedic Index, Vol. I. pp. 99, 210.

<sup>73</sup> Rigveda I. 117. 16.

<sup>74</sup> Macdonell and Keith — Vedic Index, s. v. Viś and Jana.

political organisation of this period monarchy as might be expected from their situation as settlers in the midst of a conquered population, was a well-established institution and the Rigveda gives as glimpses of the king's functions in peace and war.<sup>75</sup> Originally, it seems, the authority of the king was largely limited by that of the heads of the family and the chiefs of the clans, though as guardian of his people he used to receive such voluntary contributions which are called by the generic name "bali" just to maintain his authority and dignity.<sup>76</sup> There is nothing in the Rigveda to prove that he was ever regarded as the owner of the state-territory.

*Corporate village-life*—The grāma or village consisted of a group of families united by ties of kindred but what place it held in the scheme of tribal divisions and in particular what relation it bore to the Viś with which it was immediately connected, it is impossible to state with any degree of certainty.<sup>77</sup> Most of the villages were founded by settlers under some leader and apart from the question of consanguinity the people of a village regarded themselves as a united body. In times of war they fought under their leaders for the safety of their hearths and homes; and this is proved by the word samgrāma which primarily meant an assembly of the village-folk but later on came to mean a war-gathering. In times of peace they gathered in the village council (savā) which as Zimmer suggests "served like the Greek Leshke as a meeting place for social intercourse and general conversation about cows<sup>78</sup> and so forth, possibly also for debates<sup>79</sup> and verbal contests.<sup>80</sup> The administrative machinery of the village also supports its corporate character. At the head of the village was the Grāmanī<sup>81</sup> who according to Zimmer<sup>82</sup> presided over the village

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., s. v. Rājan; Rapson—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. pp. 94—95, 98.

<sup>76</sup> Rigveda X. 173; Macdonell and Keith — Vedic Index, s. v. bali.

<sup>77</sup> Macdonell and Keith — Vedic Index, s. v. Grāma; Rapson—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 91, where reasons are shown for rejecting the older view of Zimmer (Altindisches Leben, pp. 159—60), namely that the Grāma was a clan standing between the family and the tribe.

<sup>78</sup> Rigveda VI. 28. 6.                      <sup>79</sup> Rigveda I. 91. 120.

<sup>80</sup> Zimmer — Altindisches Leben, p. 172.

<sup>81</sup> Rigveda X. 62. 11; X. 107. 5.

<sup>82</sup> Altindisches Leben, p. 172.

assembly though Macdonell<sup>83</sup> does not accept this view. Ludwig<sup>84</sup> infers judicial functions of the village assembly from the word *kilvishaspr̥it* in the *Rigveda*<sup>85</sup> which can only mean "that which removes the stain attaching to a person by means of accusation."

The villages which thus became the basis of social life were connected by roads which were not free from dangers from wild beasts and robbers as is evident from the frequent prayers for protection on a journey offered to Pushan who was the deity presiding over roads and paths.<sup>86</sup>

*Growth of towns*—The existence of city-life in this period has been denied by Professors Keith, Kaegi and others. Pischel, Geldner and Wilson, however, think otherwise. According to the latter *pūras* (cities) as distinct from *grāmas* (villages) were well-known. "Indra broke through Ilībisa's strong *pūras*."<sup>87</sup> "Thou (O Indra) hero-hearted hast broken through Pipru's *pūras*."<sup>88</sup> "Thou, O Indra, hast destroyed the hundred *pūras* of Vangrīda."<sup>89</sup> "Thou (O Indra) slayest the Vṛitras, breaker-down of *pūras*."<sup>90</sup> "Thou breakest down, Indra, autumnal *pūras*."<sup>91</sup> "Him (Agni), indestructible, dwelling at a distance in *pūras* unwrought lies and ill-spirit reaches not."<sup>92</sup> "Maghavan with the thunderbolt demolished his (Sambara's) ninety-nine *pūras*."<sup>93</sup> "Agni, thou brokest down the *pūras*."<sup>94</sup> "Thou, (O Indra) hast wrecked seven autumnal *pūras*."<sup>95</sup> "Indra, thou humblest tribes that spake with insult by breaking down seven autumnal *pūras*."<sup>96</sup> "Thou hast smitten Sambara's *pūras*, O Indra."<sup>97</sup> "(O Indra) dostroy the firm *pūras* built by man."<sup>98</sup> "Indra overthrew the solid *pūras* built by Pipru."<sup>99</sup> "He (Agni) with the steed wins spoil even in the fenced *pūra*."<sup>100</sup> Indra is said to have

<sup>83</sup> Vedic Index, Vol. I. p. 427.

<sup>84</sup> Der *Rigveda*, III. 254.

<sup>85</sup> X. 71. 10.

<sup>86</sup> *Rigveda* I. 42. 1 ; VI. 49. 8 ; VI. 51. 13 ; VI. 53. 1.

<sup>87</sup> *Rigveda* I. 33. 12.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, I. 51. 5.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid*, I. 53. 8.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid*, I. 102. 7.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid*, I. 131. 4.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid*, II. 35. 6.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid*, V. 29. 6.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*, VI. 16. 39.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid*, VI. 20. 10.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid*, I. 174. 2.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid*, I. 103. 8.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*, VI. 45. 9.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid*, X. 138. 3.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid*, VIII. 92. 5.

“quickly demolished the strongholds and seven-walled pūras of Srukta and other asuras.”<sup>101</sup> He is again said to have demolished one hundred pūras of stone for the pious Divodāsa.<sup>102</sup> Again he possessed all the pūras of the asuras as a husband his wife<sup>103</sup> Saraswatī is described “as firm as a pūra made of ayas.”<sup>104</sup> Pūras made of the metal ayas are also mentioned in several other places,<sup>105</sup> figuratively, no doubt, to express great strength. Professor Wilson remarks “cities are repeatedly mentioned, and although, as the object of Indra’s hostility, they may be considered as cities in the clouds, the residences of the Asuras, yet the notion of such exaggerations of any class of beings could alone have been suggested by actual observations, and the idea of cities in heaven could have been derived only from familiarity with similar assemblages upon earth; but it is probable that by Asuras we are to understand, at least occasionally, the ante-vaiddik people of India, and theirs were the cities destroyed. It is also to be observed, that the cities are destroyed on behalf of or in defence of mortal princes, who could scarcely have beleaguered celestial towns, even with Indra’s assistance. Indeed, in one instance, it is said that, having destroyed ninety-nine out of hundred cities of the Asura Sambara, Indra left the hundredth habitable for his protégé Divodāsa, a terrestrial monarch, to whom a metropolis in the firmament would have been of questionable advantage. That the cities of those days consisted, to a large extent, of mud and mat hovels is very possible: they do still; Benares, Agra, Delhi, even Calcutta present numerous constructions of the very humblest class; but that they consisted of those exclusively, is contradicted in several places. In one passage the cities of Sambara that have been overturned are said to have consisted of stone; in another the same cities are indicated by the appellative dehyah, the plastered, intimating the use of lime, mortar or stucco; in another we have specified a structure with a thousand columns, which whether a palace or a temple, must have been something very different from a cottage; and again, supplication is put up for a large

<sup>101</sup> Wilson’s Rigveda IV. 59.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid, IV. 75.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, IV. 12.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid, IV. 30. 20.

<sup>105</sup> Rigveda I. 58. 8; II. 20. 8;  
IV. 27. 1; VII. 3. 7; VII. 15. 14;  
VII. 95. 1; VIII. 89. 8; X. 101. 8.

habitation which could not be intended for a hut : cities with buildings of some pretence must obviously have been no rarities to the authors of the hymns of the Rigveda."<sup>106</sup> According to Professor Keith, however, "the pūra which is often referred to and which in later days denotes a town was probably no more than a mere earthwork fortification. In certain passages, these pūras are called autumnal, and by far the most probable explanation of this epithet is, that it refers to the flooding of the plains by the rising of the rivers in the autumn when the cultivators and the herdsmen had to take refuge within the earthworks which at other times served as defences against human foes."<sup>107</sup> But the actual remains of well-planned cities like those of Mohenzo Daro and Harappa of the Calcholithic Age seem, however, to confirm the imperfect picture of the pre-Aryan inhabitants of the Indus valley in the Rigveda, living in pūras, some of which might, therefore, will have been cities and not mere earthwork fortifications.†

*Development of Agriculture*—Agriculture was already a part of Vedic economy. The very name Arya by which the Aryan conquerors have distinguished themselves from the aborigines is said to have come from a root (kṛiṣh) which means to cultivate.<sup>108</sup> Similarly the words kṛiṣṭayaḥ<sup>109</sup> and carsanayaḥ<sup>110</sup> are applied to the people in general. In other places we find Pancha kṛiṣṭayaḥ<sup>111</sup> and Carsanayaḥ<sup>112</sup> applied to the great tribes.

Fertile plots of land (urbarā) were selected and divided into separate fields (kṣhetras) which were measured with a rod.<sup>113</sup> Forests were cleared up by fire as well for purposes of cultivation.<sup>114</sup> The Aswins taught the Great Manu the art of sowing seeds<sup>115</sup> and the Indo-Aryans the use of the plough.<sup>116</sup> The plough was known as Sira<sup>117</sup> and Lāṅgala.<sup>118</sup> The

<sup>106</sup> Wilson's Rigveda III. p. XIV.

<sup>107</sup> Rapson—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.

<sup>108</sup> R. C. Dutt — Civilisation in Ancient India, p. 35.

<sup>109</sup> Rigveda I. 52. 11 ; I. 100. 10 ; I. 160. 5 ; I. 189. 3 ; III. 49. 1 ; IV. 21. 2.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid, I. 86. 5 ; III. 43. 2 ; IV. 7. 4 ; V. 23. 1.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, II. 2. 10 ; III. 53. 16 ; IV. 38. 10 ; X. 10. 4.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid, I. 110. 5.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid, I. 58. 4—5 ; I. 140. 4—8 ; II. 4. 4, 7 ; IV. 4.

<sup>114</sup> Rigveda I. 112. 16 ; Sāyana's Commentary.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid, IV. 57. 8 ; X. 101. 3, 4.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid, V. 86. 2 ;

VII. 15. 2 ; IX. 101. 9.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid, I. 117. 21.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid, IV. 57. 4.

ploughshare was called phāla<sup>119</sup> and the yoke was called Yuga.<sup>120</sup> The plough was driven by oxen<sup>121</sup> which were yoked and harnessed with traces (varatrā)<sup>122</sup> and urged with the goad<sup>123</sup> with horny point<sup>124</sup> by the ploughman (kināśa).<sup>125</sup>

For the improvement of agriculture cowdung was probably used as manure. Śakṛt in the Rigveda<sup>126</sup> means according to Professors Macdonell and Keith dung and "it is clear that the value of manure was early appreciated."<sup>127</sup> For irrigating the fields water-courses seem to have been dug out. The epithet khanitrimā (produced by digging) of āpaḥ (water) in the Rigveda<sup>128</sup> "clearly refers to artificial water-channels used for irrigation, as practised in the times of the Rigveda."<sup>129</sup> Muir<sup>130</sup> took the word kulyā to mean artificial waterways which carried water to reservoirs. Wells for purposes of irrigation were also well-known. The word avata frequently occurs in the Rigveda<sup>131</sup> and denotes an artificial hollow in the earth containing water. Kūpa having the same meaning also occurs in the Rigveda.<sup>132</sup> Such wells are "described as unfailing (akṣita) and full of water."<sup>133</sup> The water was raised by a wheel of stone<sup>134</sup> to which was fastened a strap (varatrā) with a pail (kośa) attached to it. When raised, it was poured into buckets (āhāva)<sup>135</sup> of wood. Sometimes these wells appear to have been used for irrigation purposes, the water being led off into broad channels (sūrmī suśirā).<sup>136</sup> In some cases they (the wells)

<sup>119</sup> Ibid, IV. 57. 8 ; X. 117. 7.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid, I. 115. 2 ; I. 184. 3 ; II. 39. 4 ;  
III. 53. 17.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid, X. 106.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid, IV. 57. 4.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid, IV. 57. 4 ; X. 102. 8.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid, VI. 53. 9.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid, IV. 57. 8.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid, I. 161. 10.

<sup>127</sup> Vedic Index, II. p. 349.  
<sup>128</sup> Rigveda VII. 49. 2.  
<sup>129</sup> Vedic Index, I. p. 214.  
<sup>130</sup> Sanskrit Texts, Vol. V. pp. 465—66.  
<sup>131</sup> I. 55. 8 ; I. 85. 10, 11 ; I. 116. 9, 22 ; IV. 17. 16 ; VIII. 49. 6 ; VIII. 62. 6 ;  
X. 25. 4.

<sup>132</sup> I. 105. 17.

<sup>133</sup> Rigveda X. 101. 6.

<sup>134</sup> Aśma-Cakra, Rigveda X. 93. 13 ; X. 101. 7.

<sup>135</sup> Rigveda X. 25. 4.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid, VIII. 69. 12.

must have been deep, as Trita in the myth is said to have fallen into one, from which he could not escape unaided."<sup>137</sup>

For successful agriculture timely rain was a necessity. Hence the innumerable prayers for rain preserved in the hymns of the Rigveda.<sup>138</sup> Sacrifices were also offered for helping Indra to fight Vṛtra or the Demon of Drought and bring down rain by rendering open his cloud-body with Indra's thunderbolt. Indra was assisted in his work by some other deities, notably Viṣṇu the Sun-god who heated the sea-water, converted it into vapour and lifted them into the sky above,<sup>139</sup> the Maruts or Winds (Monsoons) who carried the watery vapour inland from the surrounding seas, Trita the third month of the rainy season when rainfall was incessant, Parjanya the ancient god of rain and Bṛhaspati of "loud speech"<sup>140</sup> who helped the worshippers in properly chanting the mantras at the sacrifice, held for the propitiation of the gods. The Saraswati was called Vṛtraghni the killer of Vṛtra, like Indra.<sup>141</sup> That obtaining rains was the main object of holding the annual and special sessions of sacrifice in those days is evident from the following verse: "I offer to you (gods) for the sake of water, an all-bestowing sacrifice whereby the Navagvas have completed the ten month's rite."<sup>142</sup>

Before agricultural work was begun, certain verses were uttered to propitiate the Lord of the Field (Kṣhetrapati) and other deities, supposed to preside over agriculture, as will appear from the following verse of the Rigveda<sup>143</sup> :—

"We through the Master of the Field, even as through  
a friend obtain

<sup>137</sup> Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, I. 40, 177 ; also Macdonell—Vedic Mythology, p. 67.

<sup>138</sup> V. 63. 2 ; V. 63. 6 ; V. 83. 6—7 ; VI. 70. 5 ; VII. 64. 2 ; VII. 65. 4 ; VII. 73. 3 ; VII. 102. 1 ; VIII. 7. 16 ; VIII. 25. 6 ; IX. 8. 8 ; IX. 39. 2 ; IX. 49. 1 ; IX. 65. 3, 24 ; IX. 96. 4 ; IX. 97. 17 ; IX. 106. 9 ; IX. 108. 10 ; X. 98. 5, 10.

<sup>139</sup> Rigveda VIII. 77. 10.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid, IV. 50. 5.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid, VI. 61. 3, 7.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid, V. 45. 1.

<sup>143</sup> IV. 57.

What nourisheth our kine and steeds. In such way  
 may he be good to us.  
 As the cow yieldeth milk, pour for us freely, Lord of  
 the Field, the wave that beareth sweetness,  
 Distilling meath, well-purified like butter, and let  
 the Lords of holy Law be gracious.  
 Sweet be the plants for us, the heavens, the waters,  
 and full of sweets for us be air's mid-region.  
 May the Field's Lord for us be full of sweetness, and  
 may we follow after him uninjured.  
 Happily work our steers and men, may the plough  
 furrow happily,  
 Happily be the traces bound ; happily may he ply  
 the goad.  
 Suna and Sira, welcome ye this land, and with the  
 milk which ye have made in heaven.  
 Bedew ye both this earth of ours.  
 Auspicious Sitā, come thou near : we venerate  
 and worship thee  
 That thou mayest bless and prosper us and  
 bring us fruits abundantly.  
 May Indra press the furrow down, may Pūshan  
 guide its course aright  
 May she, as rich in milk, be drained for us  
 through each succeeding year.  
 Happily let the shares turn up the ploughland,  
 happily go the ploughers with the oxen.  
 With meath and milk Parjanya make us happy ;  
 grant us prosperity, Suna and Sira."

In ahothor hymn<sup>144</sup> sacrifice is figuratively spoken of as ploughing,  
 sowing and reaping.<sup>145</sup> We also read of other agricultural operations like

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<sup>144</sup> Rigveda X. 101. 3—12.

<sup>145</sup> Compare Satapatha Brāhmaṇa VII. 2. 2, 4.



cutting of corn by the sickle,<sup>146</sup> the laying of it in bundles,<sup>147</sup> on the threshing floor<sup>148</sup> and final shifting by winnowing.<sup>149</sup>

Coming to the nature of the grain grown we find that Yava<sup>150</sup> and dhānā<sup>151</sup> or dhānya<sup>152</sup> were cultivated.<sup>153</sup> According to Macdonell and Keith<sup>154</sup> Yava perhaps meant any kind of grain and not merely barley. But we should bear in mind that Indian commentators have always taken Yava to mean barley only. Moreover, we should note in this connection that barley is one of the earliest grains to be cultivated by man. Again European scholars interpret dhāna and dhānya as grain in general and not as rice, though in later literature it always means rice. The absence of the name of vrihi (the boro rice of Lower Bengal which later became the general name of rice) in the Rigveda lend colour to the view that rice was unknown in this age.<sup>155</sup>

*Food of the people*—The food of this age consisted of barely flour and its various preparations, fruits, flesh of animals like goats, sheep, oxen, buffaloes, deer and sometimes horses as well as honey, clarified butter, curds and other preparations of milk. The drink consisted of milk, the Soma juice and wine.

Apūpa<sup>156</sup> was a kind of cake made of barley mixed with clarified butter. Pakti<sup>157</sup> was another kind of cake. Grain cooked with milk was called khīra-audana.<sup>158</sup> Karamba<sup>159</sup> was a kind of porridge made of fried barley-flour, mixed with curd or clarified butter.

<sup>146</sup> Sṇī, Rigveda I. 58. 4 ; IV. 20. 5 ; X. 101. 3 ; dātra, Rigveda VIII. 67. 10.

<sup>147</sup> parṣa, Rigveda X. 48. 7.

<sup>148</sup> Khala, Rigveda X. 48. 7.

<sup>149</sup> Rigveda X. 27. 15 ; X. 68. 3 ; X. 71. 2.

<sup>150</sup> Rigveda I. 53. 2 ; IV. 24. 7 ; V. 85. 3 ; VII. 3. 4 ; VIII. 2. 3 ; VIII. 81. 4 ; X. 27. 8 ; X. 131. 2.

<sup>151</sup> Rigveda I. 16. 2 ; III. 35. 3 ; III. 52. 7 ; VI. 29. 4.

<sup>152</sup> Rigveda V. 53. 13 ; VI. 13. 4 ; X. 94. 13.

<sup>153</sup> Cucumber is also referred to, Rigveda VII. 59. 12. <sup>154</sup> Vedic Index, II. p. 187.

<sup>155</sup> For the view that rice was cultivated in this age, read A. C. Das—Rigvedic Culture, pp. 266—69, 281—83.

<sup>156</sup> Rigveda III. 52. 7 ; X. 45. 9.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid, IV. 24. 5 ; IV. 25. 6 ; VI. 29. 4.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid, VIII. 69. 14 ; VIII. 77. 10.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid, I. 187. 16 ; III. 52. 7 ; VI. 56. 1 ; VI. 57. 2 ; VIII. 102. 2.

Meat was a principal item of food. The sage Bharadvāja prayed to Indra to grant him and his worshippers food with cow as the principal item.<sup>160</sup> Agni is called "eater of ox and cow."<sup>161</sup> Bulls were sacrificed to Indra as well.<sup>162</sup> There was even an appointed place for the slaughter of bulls and cows.<sup>163</sup> On rare occasions horse was sacrificed and its flesh was cooked and offered to the gods,<sup>164</sup> both roasted<sup>165</sup> and boiled<sup>166</sup>; while the worshippers "craving meat, await the distribution."<sup>167</sup> We also hear of buffaloes dressed for and eaten by Indra.<sup>168</sup> The cow, however, was gradually "acquiring a special sanctity, as is shown by the name *aghnyā* (not to be slain) applied to it in several passages."<sup>169</sup> The word occurs sixteen times in the Rigveda as opposed to three instances of *aghnya* (masculine). It would thus appear that there was a school of thinkers among the Rishis who set their face against the custom of killing such useful animals as the cow and the bull. Relying on Sāyana's interpretation we also find a reference to the fowler's wife cutting a bird, evidently for food.<sup>170</sup>

Fish is mentioned in the Rigveda<sup>171</sup> but we are not sure whether or how far it was used as food by the people of this age.

Fruits were eaten<sup>172</sup> though we do not come across the names of any of them. Honey was also taken with food and drink.<sup>173</sup> It is curious that there is no mention of salt in the Rigveda. "It is, however, quite conceivable that a necessary commodity might happen to be passed over without

<sup>160</sup> Ibid, VI. 39. 1.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid, VIII. 43. 11.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid, X. 89. 14.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid, I. 162. 11.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, I. 162. 12.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid, V. 29. 8 ; VI. 17. 11.

<sup>166</sup> Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, II. p. 146.

<sup>167</sup> Rigveda I. 92. 10.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid, X. 27. 2 ; X. 86. 13—14.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid, I. 162. 3, 10, 11.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid, I. 162. 13.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid, VII. 18. 6 ; X. 68. 8.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid, III. 45. 4 ; X. 146. 5.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid, I. 19. 9 ; I. 154. 4 ;

II. 19. 2 ; II. 37. 5 ; III. 8. 1 ;

III. 39. 6 ; III. 43. 3 ; IV. 38. 10 ;

VII. 24. 2.

literary mention in a region where it is very common, but to be referred to in a locality where it is not found and consequently becomes highly prized."<sup>174</sup> In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad<sup>175</sup> it seems to be placed above gold in value, probably because it had to be imported at a heavy cost into the region where the Upaniṣad was composed. From the absence of any mention of salt in the Rigveda some European scholars have come to the conclusion that the Indo-Aryans of this age did not use salt in the preparation of their food. But this, as Macdonell has observed "is a good illustration of the dangers of *argumentum ex silencio*."<sup>176</sup> The existence of seas near the Punjab and of the Salt Range in the heart of the country precludes a supposition like that from being at all probable.

Milk furnished a nourishing drink and was called payas.<sup>177</sup> Curd was called dadhi.<sup>178</sup> Butter was prepared by churning (mantha)<sup>179</sup> and ghr̥ta was made from it by melting it on fire.<sup>180</sup> Another drink Soma was made<sup>181</sup> with the pressed juice of a creeper or plant, diluted with water and mixed with milk (gavāśir), curd (dadhyāśir) and grain (Yavāśir)<sup>182</sup> and sometimes with honey<sup>183</sup> The Soma plant grew on the mountains, that of Mujavant being specially renowned.<sup>184</sup> At first unmixed juice (śukra, śuchi) was offered to Indra and Vāyu<sup>185</sup> but this usage was afterwards dropped by the k̥nvas<sup>186</sup> The whole of the Nineth Maṇḍala of the Rigveda and

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<sup>174</sup> Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, II. p. 230.

<sup>175</sup> IV. 17. 7.

<sup>176</sup> Macdonell—History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 105.

<sup>177</sup> Rigveda I. 164. 28 ; II. 14. 10 ; IV. 3. 9 ; V. 85. 2 ; X. 30. 13.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid, VIII. 2. 9 ; IX. 87. 1.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid, I. 28. 4.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid, I. 134. 6 ; II. 10. 4 ; IV. 10. 6 ; IV. 53. 5, 7, 9 ; V. 12. 1.

<sup>181</sup> Read Stevenson—Sāma Veda, p. 5 ; Haug—Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, I. p. 6 ; Manning—Ancient India, I. p. 86. For the mantras used in the course of preparing the Soma beverage see Taittirīya Saṃhitā, Kāṇḍa I. Prapāṭakas II., III., IV., and kāṇḍa IV. Prapāṭakas I, II., III., and IV. The Kalpasūtras and Somaproyogas supply the details.

<sup>182</sup> Hillebrandt—Vedische Mythologie, I. 219—22.

<sup>183</sup> Rigveda IX. 103. 3.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid, I. 93. 6 ; III. 48. 2 ; V. 36. 2 ; V. 43. 4 ; V. 85. 2 ; IX. 1. 18 etc.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid, I. 137. 1 ; III. 32. 2 ; VIII. 2. 9. 10.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid, VIII. 2. 5, 9, 10, 28.

six hymns in other mandalas are most lavish in its praise. It enabled men to concentrate their mind, made them active, cured their diseases and preserved their characters.<sup>187</sup> It was also believed to prolong their lives.<sup>188</sup> But it also had an inebriating effect on its consumers, ultimately inducing sleep<sup>189</sup> and was compared with mada.<sup>190</sup> When singing the praise of Soma some Rīṣis made apparently incoherent prayers for winning beautiful damsels, doubtless the result of an overdose of the drink.<sup>191</sup> On the eve of a battle the warriors used to divide the Soma among themselves and drink it, probably for excitement and exhilaration.<sup>192</sup> Surā was the name of an intoxicating spirituous liquor.<sup>193</sup> It has been generally condemned in the Rigveda as under its influence, men committed sins and crimes<sup>194</sup> and became devoid of sense.<sup>195</sup> It has been classed with dicing as an evil.<sup>196</sup> It was the drink of men in the Savā and gave rise to broils<sup>197</sup> Pānta was the name of another drink in the Rigveda.<sup>198</sup> As it was offered to the gods, it has been identified by commentators with Soma. But it may have been a drink of a different kind.

*Sheep and Cattle-rearing : the domesticated animals*—The principal animals domesticated in this age are the cow, the buffalo, the horse, camel, ass, sheep and goat. Oxen and horses were indispensable for agricultural work and milk was required not only for daily consumption but also for offering libations to the Sacred Fire twice a day and for preparing butter and ghee to enable the people to perform the annual and periodic sessions of sacrifice so that they might be blessed with sufficient rainfall for the successful cultivation of their crops. Pūṣhan was the god of the shepherds to whom

<sup>187</sup> Ibid, VIII. 48. 5.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid, VIII. 48. 11.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid, IX. 69. 6.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid, IX. 68. 3 ; X. 69. 3.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid, IX. 67. 10, 11, 12.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid, IX. 106. 2.

<sup>193</sup> According to Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa "it was, as opposed to Soma, essentially a drink of ordinary life" (Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, II. p. 458.)

<sup>194</sup> Rigveda VII. 86. 6.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid, VIII. 2. 12 ; VIII. 21. 14.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid, VII. 86. 6.

<sup>197</sup> Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, II. p. 458.

<sup>198</sup> I. 122. 1 ; I. 155. 1 ; VII. 92. 1 ; X. 88. 1.

prayers were offered.<sup>199</sup> "Give us wide pastures" was the cry.<sup>200</sup> We read of cattle going to the pasture at daybreak for grazing,<sup>201</sup> of herdsmen driving them,<sup>202</sup> of herdsmen guarding them,<sup>203</sup> of herdsmen calling out to the cattle<sup>204</sup> and of herdsmen driving them home from the pasture.<sup>205</sup> The eager solicitude for the welfare of their kine will be evident from the following verses :—

"May Pūṣhan follow near our kine ; may Pūṣhan

keep our horses safe :

May Pūṣhan gather gear for us.

Follow the kine of him who pours libations out  
and worship thee ;

And ours who sing songs of praise.

Let none be lost, none injured, none sink in a pit  
and break a limb

Return with these safe and sound."<sup>206</sup>

"Yea, let the herdsman, too, return, who marketh  
well their driving forth ;

Marketh their wandering away, their turning  
back and coming home

Home-leader, lead them home to us ; Indra, restore  
to us our kine

We will rejoice in them alive."<sup>207</sup>

"May the wind blow upon our cows with healing ;  
may they eat herbage full of vigorous juices.

May they drink waters rich in life and fatness :  
to food that moves on feet be gracious, Rudra."<sup>208</sup>

From the above quotations it is evident that the cattle were objects of great care with the Rigvedic Aryans. They were kept in the cowstall,<sup>209</sup>

<sup>199</sup> Rigveda I. 42 ; VI. 54 ; VI. 55 ; VI. 56 ; VI. 57.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid, I. 42. 8.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid, III. 45. 3 ; IV. 51. 8 ; V. 7. 7.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid, V. 31. 1.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid, VI. 19. 3.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid, III. 33. 9.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid, VI. 49. 12 ; VI. 24. 4 ; VI. 41. 1.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid, VI. 54. 5—7.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid, X. 19. 5—6.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid, X. 169. 1.

<sup>209</sup> Rigveda .V. 23. 10 ; V. 24. 5 ; V. 45. 6 ; V. 62. 2 ; VI. 10. 3 ; VI. 17. 2 ; VI. 28. 1 ; VI. 45. 24 ; VI. 62. 11 ; VI. 65. 5 ; X. 169. 3, 4.

fed on barley and corn,<sup>210</sup> and supplied with pure drinking water raised from the wells and poured into wooden cattle-troughs which were bound with straps for being conveniently carried from the side of the wells to the cowpens.<sup>211</sup> Prayers were offered to Agni not to burn up the places where the cattle find refuge and food.<sup>212</sup> The milching of the cow was usually done by the daughter of the householder as the word *duhitṛ* proves.<sup>213</sup> We have already seen that besides milk and the preparations from milk, cow was also used for food and as a standard of value in purchasing goods. Oxen were used for ploughing<sup>214</sup> and for drawing cars and waggons.<sup>215</sup> The skin served the purpose of a mattress, specially for the newly married wife who had to sit on a cowhide along with her husband. The hide was also used in covering chariot.<sup>216</sup> We also read of wine-bottles made of leather,<sup>217</sup> of skins for carrying water,<sup>218</sup> of a skin filled with meath kept in the chariot<sup>219</sup> and of a skin containing curds.<sup>220</sup> No wonder, therefore, that Rigvedic princes vied with one another in making gifts of cows to the most deserving.<sup>221</sup> The name of the sacrificial fee *dakṣiṇā* is explained as referring originally to a cow placed on the right hand of the singer of hymns for reward. The composer of the hymns of the Rigveda compares himself to the cow and his hymn to the milk.<sup>222</sup> The composers also delight to compare their songs to the lowing of cows to their calves.<sup>223</sup>

Buffalo was well known.<sup>224</sup> We have already seen that besides its milk, its flesh was also eaten.<sup>225</sup> That buffaloes were used in drawing cars is evident from a hymn of the Rigveda<sup>226</sup> where mention is made of a car

<sup>210</sup> Ibid, X. 27. 8.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid, I. 47. 3.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid, IV. 57. 4 ; X. 106. 2.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid, VI. 47. 27.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid, I. 85. 5.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid, VI. 48. 18. Compare Krivi, Rigveda II. 17. 6 ; II. 22. 2.

<sup>221</sup> Rigveda I. 126. 1—4 ; V. 30. 12—15 ; VIII. 1. 33 ; VIII. 4. 20—21 ; VIII. 5. 37 ; VIII. 5. 47 ; I. 122. 7 ; VII. 8. 22.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid, I. 186. 4.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid, VI. 45. 25 ; VI. 45. 28 ; VIII. 77. 1.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid, IV. 21. 8 ; V. 29. 7, 8 ; VI. 5. 37 ; VIII. 6. 48 ; VIII. 35. 8 ; IX. 33. 1.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid, V. 29. 8 ; VI. 17. 11.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid, X. 102.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid, X. 101. 5—7.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid, IX. 97. 47.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid, II. 2. 1.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid, I. 191. 10.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid, IV. 45. 1.

which was drawn by a team, one of which was a bull and the other a buffalo. Buffaloes were also objects of gifts.<sup>227</sup>

The horse has various names in the Rigveda. It was called *atya* (runner), *arvant* (the swift), *vājen* (the strong), *sapti* (runner) and *haya* (the speeding). Horses of various colours were known, *dun* (*harita*, *hari*), *ruddy* (*aruna*, *aruṣa*, *piśanga*, *rohita*) dark-brown (*śyava*), white (*śveta*) etc. The regions bordering upon the Sindhu<sup>228</sup> and the Saraswati<sup>229</sup> were famous as breeding places of horses. Horses were used to draw not only carts laden with harvested corn<sup>230</sup> but also carriages or chariots containing passengers. It seems to have been considered undignified for a wealthy man to come to the sacrificial assembly in a one-horse car.<sup>231</sup> It is surprising to be told by some European scholars that though the horse was employed to draw carts and carriages or chariots, it was not used for riding.<sup>232</sup> Macdonell remarks "No mention is made of riding in battle."<sup>233</sup> Professor Keith observes "Though horse-riding was probably not unknown for other purposes, no mention is made of this use of the horse in war."<sup>234</sup> But as a matter of fact, we find innumerable references to horse-riding<sup>235</sup> and even of the use of horse in war.<sup>236</sup> Thus we read :—

"Where are your horses, where the reins ? How came ye ?  
how had ye the power ?  
Rein was on nose and seat on back  
The whip is laid upon the flank. The heroes stretch  
their thighs apart,  
Like women when the babe is born."<sup>237</sup>

<sup>227</sup> Ibid, VIII. 5. 37 ; VIII. 6. 48.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid, X. 75. 8.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid, I. 3. 10 ; II. 41. 48 ; VI. 61. 3, 4 ; VII. 90. 3.

<sup>230</sup> Rigveda X. 101. 7.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid, X. 131. 3.

<sup>232</sup> Macdonell—History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 150.

<sup>233</sup> Vedic Index, I, p. 42.

<sup>234</sup> Rapson—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 98.

<sup>235</sup> Rigveda I. 155. 1 ; I. 158. 3 ; I. 162. 17 ; II. 1. 6 ; II. 27. 22 ; V. 61. 2, 3 ; V. 61. 11 ; V. 53. 3 ; V. 34. 3 ; V. 64. 7 ; VIII. 5. 7, 8 ; VIII. 6. 36.

<sup>236</sup> Rigveda II. 34. 3 ; IV. 42. 5 ; V. 61 ; VI. 33. 1 ; VI. 46. 13, 14 ; VI. 47. 31 ; IX. 37. 5 ; IX. 86. 3 ; IX. 108. 2 ; X. 6. 6 ; X. 96. 10.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid, V. 61. 2—3.

No better description can be given of riding a horse. In another hymn addressed to the horse we read :

“If one, when seated, with excessive urging hath  
with his heel or with his whip distressed thee,  
All these thy woes, as with oblation’s ladle at sacrifices,  
with my prayer I banish.”<sup>238</sup>

As regards the use of the horse in war by the cavalry we read :

“Our heroes, winged with horses, come together.  
Let our car-warriors, Indra be triumphant.”<sup>239</sup>

Here the poet evidently mentions two separate classes of warriors—“heroes winged with horses” (asvaparnāh, meaning ‘riding on fleet horses’) and “car-warriors.” In another hymn we read :

“Heroes with noble horses (svaśvāh) fain for battle,  
selected warriors call on me in combat.  
I Indra Maghavan excite the conflict.  
I stir the dust, Lord of surpassing vigour.”<sup>240</sup>

Dadhikras is the name of the divine war-horse whose feats are described in the Rigveda.<sup>241</sup> The Rigvedic Aryans were also fond of horse-racing which supplied the people with fun and excitement and the horses and their riders with exercise necessary to keep them fit. Thus we read :

“Indra hath helped Etaṣa, Somapresser, contending  
in the race of steeds with Sūrya.”<sup>242</sup>  
“To him these ladles go, to him these racing mares.”<sup>243</sup>  
“They have come nigh to you as treasure-lover,  
like mares, fleet-footed, eager for glory.”<sup>244</sup>

The race-course was called Kāṣṭhā<sup>245</sup> or āji<sup>246</sup> and the person who instituted a horse-race was called āji-kṛt.<sup>247</sup> The Rigvedic Aryans were also fond of the race of chariots drawn by horses, for, it was “the peaceful preparation for the decisive struggle on the battle-field.”<sup>248</sup> Thus we read :

<sup>238</sup> Ibid, I. 162. 17.

<sup>239</sup> Rigveda VI. 47. 31.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid, IV. 38 ; IV. 39 ; IV. 40.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid, I. 145. 3.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid, VIII. 80. 8.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid, VIII. 53. 6.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid, IV. 42. 5.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid, I. 61. 15.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid, IV. 41. 9 ; compare also IX. 97. 25.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid, IV. 24. 8 ; X. 156. 1.

<sup>248</sup> Kaegi's The Rigveda, p. 19.



“Ho there ! why sittest thou (O Indra) at ease ? Make  
thou my chariot to be first :

And bring the fame of victory near.”<sup>249</sup>

“As for a chariot-race, the skilful Speaker (Soma),  
Chief, Sage, Inventor, hath with song been started.”<sup>250</sup>

“Thou conquerest thus with might when car meets  
car and when the prize is staked.”<sup>251</sup>

The horse was occasionally used for sacrifice and its flesh was partaken of by the worshippers.<sup>252</sup> Horses like cows were also objects of gift.<sup>253</sup>

Camels are frequently mentioned.<sup>254</sup> They were used for carrying loads<sup>255</sup> and as objects of gift.<sup>256</sup>

Asses are also mentioned as drawing the car of the Aświns.<sup>257</sup> They were also objects of gift.<sup>258</sup> Wild ass is also referred to in the Rigveda<sup>259</sup> according to Von Roth.

Sheep<sup>260</sup> was a very useful animal in this age, for, besides its milk and flesh, its wool was a material for clothing. Puṣhan is described in one verse<sup>261</sup> as “weaving the raiment of the sheep.” The Indus region was wooly (suvāsā urnāvatī)<sup>262</sup> ; Paruṣṇī also was wooly<sup>263</sup> ; and the softest wool was of the ewes of Gāndhārāns.<sup>264</sup>

Goats are repeatedly mentioned in the Rigveda.<sup>265</sup> Puṣhan’s chariot like Thor’s in the Edda is said to be drawn by a team of goats.<sup>266</sup> Besides

<sup>249</sup> Rigveda, VIII. 69. 5.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid, IX. 91. 1.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid, IX. 53. 2.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid, I. 163. 10, 12, 13, 19.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid, I. 123. 2 ; VII. 18. 23 ; VIII. 1. 32 ; VIII. 3. 21, 22 ; VIII. 4. 19 ; VIII. 6. 47 ; VIII. 46. 23.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid, I. 138. 2 ; VII. 5. 37 ; VIII. 6. 48 ; VIII. 46. 22, 31.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid, I. 138. 2.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid, VIII. 5 ; VIII. 46.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid, I. 34. 9 ; I. 116. 2 ; I. 117. 16 ; I. 162. 21 ; IV. 36. 1 ; VIII. 74. 7.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid, VIII. Balikhilya Hymn No. 8. line 3.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid, X. 86. 18.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid, I. 10. 2 ; I. 51. 1 ; I. 52. 2 ; etc.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid, X. 26. 6.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid, X. 75. 8.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid, IV. 22. 2 ; V. 52. 9.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid, I. 126. 7.

<sup>265</sup> I. 162. 2 ; I. 163. 12 ; II. 39. 2 ; VII. 18. 17.

<sup>266</sup> Rigveda I. 138. 4 ; IX. 67. 10 ; X. 26. 8.

the milk of the she-goat, and the flesh of the goat, its wool was a material for clothing. In early times goat-skins were worn, ajin coming from aja, a goat.

Elephants,<sup>267</sup> deer,<sup>268</sup> spotted deer,<sup>269</sup> pigeons,<sup>270</sup> swans,<sup>271</sup> peafowls,<sup>272</sup> parrots,<sup>273</sup> quail,<sup>274</sup> chakwa (chakravāka),<sup>275</sup> cuckoo,<sup>276</sup> antelopes<sup>277</sup> and wild boars<sup>278</sup> are also mentioned.

*Economic importance of Forests*—The forests were of great economic value to the Indo-Aryans of this age. In the first place, they served as natural pastures.<sup>279</sup> Secondly, they were utilised as burial places and probably also as cremation grounds.<sup>280</sup> Thirdly, a hymn of the Rigveda<sup>281</sup> makes it apparent that certain classes of people used to live in the forest tracts. Lastly, they provided the house-holder with the materials for the construction of houses, chariots, sacrificial implements and the like. Above all, they were a constant source of fuel to the community.<sup>282</sup> It is no wonder, therefore, that the people regularly prayed that the trees and the plants would be endowed with sweetness so that they might conduce to the benefit of the people—

“To us Herbs and Forest trees be gracious.”<sup>283</sup>

Again “May herbs that grow on ground and Heaven  
And Earth accordant with Forest-Sovrans, and both the  
World-halves round about protect us.”<sup>284</sup>

<sup>267</sup> Ibid, I. 64. 7 ; VI. 4. 5 ; VIII. 33. 8 ; VIII. 45. 5 ; IX. 57. 3 ; X. 106. 6.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid, I. 38. 5 ; I. 105. 7 ; I. 163. 1 ; VIII. 2. 6 ; IX. 32. 4.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid, I. 37. 2 ; VIII. 7. 28.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid, I. 30. 4 ; X. 165. 1, 2.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid, I. 65. 5 ; I. 163. 10 ; VIII. 35. 8 ; VII. 59. 7 ; IX. 32. 3.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid, I. 191. 14 ; III. 45. 1.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid, I. 50. 12.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid, I. 112. 8 ; I. 117. 14 ; I. 117. 16.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid, II. 39. 3.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid, VII. 104. 22.

<sup>277</sup> Ibid, I. 64. 8 ; VIII. 4. 10.

<sup>278</sup> Ibid, I. 61. 7 ; I. 88. 5 ; I. 114. 5 ; VIII. 66. 10 ; VII. 55. 4 ; IX. 97. 7 ; X. 28. 4 ; X. 67. 7 ; X. 99. 6.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid, X. 146. 3 ; compare Ibid, IV. 1. 15.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid, X. 18. 4, 10, 12.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid, X. 146. 4.

<sup>282</sup> Compare Ibid, X. 146. 4, 5.

<sup>283</sup> Rigveda VII. 35. 5.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid, VII. 34. 23.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid, I. 135. 8 ; X. 31. 10 ; X. 51. 2 ; X. 97. 5.

The various useful trees mentioned in the Rigveda are:—(1) Asvattha<sup>285</sup>: from the wood of this tree and of Sami tree are made the arañi, the two pieces of wood which are rubbed together to produce the sacred fire—the upper and the harder piece is the Sami and the lower and the softer is the Asvattha wood. The vessel for holding the Soma juice is made of the wood of this tree.<sup>286</sup> Other sacrificial vessels were also made of the wood of this tree and hence it is called “the home of plants used in religious ceremonies.”<sup>287</sup> (2) Same (Acacia Suma)<sup>288</sup>: its wood formed the upper log of arañi which when rubbed against the lower log of Asvattha wood produced the sacred fire. Its juice says Dhanwantari when applied on the body would deprive the skin of hair. (3) Parna or Palasa (Butea Frondosa)<sup>289</sup>: sacrificial vessels were made of the wood of this tree and hence it is called the “mansion” of the plants used in religious ceremonies.<sup>290</sup> (4) Khadira (Acacia Catechu): the pin of the axle of chariots was made of this hard wood.<sup>291</sup> (5) Haritāla (hāridrāva)<sup>292</sup>: according to Sāyana it was a kind of tree. (6) Semala (Salmalia Malbarica)<sup>293</sup>: it is also known as the Śimbala or Sālmali tree. Its blossoms give silk-cotton,<sup>294</sup> while its wood, being hard was used in the construction of the wheels of chariots.<sup>295</sup> (7) Sinśipī, śīśu tree<sup>296</sup>: cars were made of this timber<sup>297</sup> which is called the “sovrān of the wood”<sup>298</sup> (8) Kinśuka (Butea Frondosa)<sup>299</sup>: wheels of chariots were made of this wood.<sup>300</sup> (9) Vibhidaka or Vibhītaka (Terminalia Bellerica)<sup>301</sup>: These trees were tall, of windy heights and their nuts were used as dice in early times.<sup>302</sup> (10) Kākambara<sup>303</sup> it is apparently the name of some umbrageous tree.<sup>304</sup>

<sup>285</sup> Ibid, I. 135. 8.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid, X. 97. 5 ; X. 51. 2.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid, X. 97. 5.

<sup>288</sup> Rigveda III. 53. 19.

<sup>289</sup> Ibid, III. 53. 22 ; VII. 50. 3 ; X. 85. 20.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid, X. 85. 20.

<sup>291</sup> Ibid, III. 53. 19.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid, X. 85. 20.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid, X. 34. 1.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid, VI. 48. 7.

<sup>295</sup> Griffith—Rigveda, Vol. I. p. 614 fn.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid, X. 97. 5.

<sup>289</sup> Ibid, IV. 27. 4 ; X. 97. 5.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid, I. 50. 12.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid, III. 53. 22.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid, III. 53. 19.

<sup>298</sup> Ibid, III. 53. 20.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid, X. 85. 20.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid, X. 34. 1

Various species of grass are also mentioned in the Rigveda:—

(1) Dūrvā<sup>305</sup> (*Panicum Dactylon*): it is a species of bent grass whose filaments stretch horizontally away from the stem. (2) Kuśa<sup>306</sup> (*Poa Cynosuroides*): this grass, after its roots are cut off, is spread on the sacrificial altar; and upon it the libation of Soma juice or oblation of clarified butter is poured out. It is also spread over the sacrificial ground or floor to serve as a seat for the gods and the sacrificers. The flame produced by the attrition of the two logs of wood which constituted the arañi was caught by the tuft of Kuśa grass carefully kept between the two.<sup>307</sup> (3) Munja<sup>308</sup>: the strainer through which Soma juice was filtered was made also of this grass.<sup>309</sup> (4) Balbaja<sup>310</sup> (*Eleusine Indica*): it was a species of coarse grass used in religious ceremonies and for other purposes when plaited.<sup>311</sup> Besides these, different varieties of grass like Sara, Darbha, Kuśara, Sairya and Virāṇa are mentioned in which snakes and other venomous reptiles lurk.<sup>312</sup>

Among the plants Soma was undoubtedly the most important, for, as we have seen, its juice was used in sacrificial drink. It grew on the mountains, that of Mujavant being specially renowned.<sup>313</sup> Medicinal herbs and plants are frequently mentioned in the Rigveda.<sup>314</sup> In the tenth maṇḍala of the Rigveda we find a hymn of twenty-three stanzas in praise of medicinal herbs and plants.<sup>315</sup> Of these Pātā<sup>316</sup> is mentioned, probably identical with Pāthā (*Clypea Hernandifolia*), a climbing plant, possessing various medicinal properties.<sup>317</sup>

*Hunting and Fishing*—Besides agriculture and cattle-rearing, hunting and fishing remained the occupation of a large section of the people,

<sup>305</sup> Rigveda X. 134. 5; X. 142. 3.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid, I. 4. 3; III. 29. 1.

<sup>307</sup> Rigveda III. 29. 1. In the Śatapati Brāhmaṇa V. 2. 1, 8 the wife of the sacrificer wears a garment of Kuśa grass for some rites—a relic of primitive dress.

<sup>308</sup> Rigveda I. 161. 8; I. 191. 3.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid, I. 161. 8.

<sup>310</sup> Ibid. VIII. Bālkhilya 7. 3.

<sup>311</sup> Griffith's Rigveda Vol. II. p. 265 fn.

<sup>312</sup> Rigveda I. 191. 5.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid, I. 93. 6; III. 48. 2; V. 36. 2; V. 43. 4; V. 85. 2; IX. 1. 18. etc.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid, I. 43. 2; VII. 34. 23; VII. 35. 5.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid, X. 97.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid, X. 145. 1.

<sup>317</sup> Griffith's Rigveda, Vol. II. p. 589 fn.

specially the aborigines. The word *śva-ghnin* occurs in the *Rigveda*<sup>318</sup> in the sense of hunter as well as gambler. The arrow was employed in hunting down beasts<sup>319</sup> and the normal instruments of capture were nets and pitfalls. Nets were called *pāśa*<sup>320</sup> or *nidhā*,<sup>321</sup> the hunter being called *pāśin*. Pits were used for capturing antelopes (*ṛṣya*) and so were called *ṛṣya-da*, antelope-catching. Hunters chasing a deer<sup>322</sup> and wild elephants<sup>323</sup> are referred to. Lions were captured in pits covered with snares<sup>324</sup> or were surrounded by the hunters and slain.<sup>325</sup> In another passage<sup>326</sup> we read that "the Soma flows on in order to be taken up and used in libations as a lion goes to the place where men lie in wait to capture him or where a pitfall has been prepared to entrap him."<sup>327</sup> The capture of the wild steer is referred to thus :

"Even the wild steer in his thirst is captured : the  
leather strap still holds his foot entangled"<sup>328</sup>

Wild bulls were sometimes hunted down with the arrow 'from the archer's bow-string'.<sup>329</sup> The boar was captured in the chase with the help of hounds "who seize him and bite him in the ear."<sup>330</sup> Birds were caught in nets, the bird-catcher being called *nidhipati*. Sometimes birds were shot down with the arrow.<sup>331</sup>

Fish is mentioned in the *Rigveda*<sup>332</sup> as well as pearls.<sup>333</sup>

*The growth of arts and crafts*—As regards the arts and crafts of this period scholars differ. According to Professor Kaegi "In arts the race still stood on the lowest stage"<sup>334</sup> ; while Professor Ragozin and Macdonell hold the opposite view. According to Macdonell "already in this period

<sup>318</sup> I. 92. 10 ; II. 12. 4, 5 ; IV. 20. 3 ; VIII. 45. 38.

<sup>319</sup> *Rigveda*, IV. 58. 6 ; X. 51. 6.

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid*, IX. 83. 4 ; X. 73. 11.

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid*, X. 40. 4.

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid*, V. 15. 3.

<sup>327</sup> Griffith's *Rigveda*, Vol. I. p. 542 fn.

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid*, X. 51. 6.

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid*, II. 42. 2.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid*, I. 35. 4 ; I. 126. 4 ; VII. 18. 23 ; X. 68. 11.

<sup>334</sup> Introduction to the *Rigveda*, p. 40.

<sup>320</sup> *Ibid*, III. 43. 1 ; VI. 43. 17.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid*, VIII. 2. 6.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid*, X. 28. 10.

<sup>326</sup> *Ibid*, V. 74. 4.

<sup>328</sup> *Rigveda* X. 23. 10.

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid*, X. 86. 4.

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid*, VII. 18. 6 ; X. 68. 8.

specialisation in industry had begun." The chief impulse for this specialisation had come from the ever-increasing agricultural and military needs of the community, settled in the midst of a hostile population. There was a well-marked tendency towards division of labour and the growth of various sub-crafts, leading ultimately to the organisation of craftsmen even into guilds. A further impetus towards the development of industry came from the fact that in this age some of the craftsmen like the Ratha-kāra and the Takṣan enjoyed a considerable social status. They stood in close relation to the king of whom they were regarded as *sti* or clients.<sup>335</sup>

From the researches of Professors Max Muller<sup>336</sup> and Schrader<sup>337</sup> regarding the Indo-European group of languages we find great similarity existing between the Sanskrit words *Tan* and *Tanti* (string) and *Zend Tan* and *Greek Teinō* and *Latin Tendo*, all meaning stretching. For weaving we have the Sanskrit root *Ve*, akin to *Latin Vieo* and *Teutonic Weban*. Similarly, Sanskrit *Takṣan* is akin to *Zend Tashan* and *Greek Tektan*, all meaning a carpenter. For plaiting we have the Sanskrit root *Pre*, akin to *Greek Plekō* and *Latin Plico*, all similar in sound and meaning. The conclusion may, therefore, be safely drawn that a common knowledge of some of these crafts (*e.g.*, those of the weaver, the carpenter and the plaiter of grass and reeds) existed among the people speaking the Indo-European group of languages.

(1) *Weaving industry*—The *Rigveda* contains many passages which show that even then the people were perfectly familiar with the art of weaving. The passages, it must be confessed, are brief and casual, occurring mostly by way of similes and metaphors in hymns designed for the glorification of particular divinities; but they are none the less interesting and suggestive on that account. Thus the verse "Night and Morning like female weavers ..... interweave in concert the long-extended thread, the web of worship"<sup>338</sup> gives only a simile, yet that refers to a familiar fact whose existence cannot be questioned. Again we have a verse<sup>339</sup>

<sup>335</sup> *Rigveda* X. 97. 23; Macdonell and Keith—*Vedic Index*, Vol. I. p. 96.

<sup>336</sup> *Biographies of Words*.

<sup>337</sup> *Reallexikon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde*.

<sup>338</sup> *Rigveda* II. 3. 6.

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid*, II. 38. 6.

which Wilson following Sāyana paraphrases thus : "She (Night) enwraps the extended (world) like (a woman) weaving (a garment)." <sup>340</sup> Elsewhere we read "Mothers weave garments for him their offspring." <sup>341</sup> The words tantum, otum and vayanti occur in the following verse <sup>342</sup> : "I know not either warp or woof, I know not web they weave when moving to the contest." Here the threads of the warp (tantum) are the metres of the Vedas, those of the woof (otum), the liturgic prayers and ceremonial, the combination of which two is the cloth or sacrifice. According to the Vedantists the threads of the warp are the subtle elements, those of the woof the gross and their combination the universe. Tantum and Otum are also referred to figuratively in the following verse : "For both the warp and the woof he understandeth and in due time shall speak what should be spoken." <sup>343</sup> Tantra meaning warp or loom <sup>344</sup> and tasara meaning weaver's shuttle <sup>345</sup> are also mentioned. Vāya meaning a weaver occurs in the Rigveda <sup>346</sup> as also various uses of the root vā. <sup>347</sup> The expression vāso-vāya shows that other "Vāya"s had already arisen who produced sundry piece-goods other than the standard vāsas or wearing cloth ; besides there were the female weavers called "Sirī"s. <sup>348</sup> Female weavers are often referred to in the Rigveda <sup>349</sup> and there is a fling at spinsters who spin out thread in ignorance. <sup>350</sup> Indeed we have a large number of words showing the extensive use of woven garments. Thus we have at least three words to denote the ordinary wearing cloth viz., Vāsas, vastra and vasana. We read—

"To you as to a vāsas in winter, we cleave close." <sup>351</sup>

"When he (Sun) hath lossed his Horses from their station,  
straight over all Night spreadeth out her vāsas." <sup>352</sup>

<sup>340</sup> Wilson's Rigveda II. p. 307.

<sup>341</sup> Ibid, V. 47. 6.

<sup>342</sup> Rigveda V. 9. 3.

<sup>343</sup> Ibid, X. 130. 2.

<sup>344</sup> Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index : 'Vāya' and 'otu.'

<sup>345</sup> Rigveda X. 71. 9.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid, II. 3. 6 ; II. 38. 4. cf. V. 47. 6.

<sup>347</sup> Ibid, X. 71. 9.

<sup>348</sup> I. 115. 4.

<sup>349</sup> Ibid, VI. 9. 2.

<sup>350</sup> Ibid, X. 71. 9.

<sup>351</sup> Ibid, X. 26. 6.

<sup>352</sup> Rigveda I. 34. 1.

"Vāsas is body, food in life and healing ointment  
giveth strength."<sup>353</sup>

"Loose in the wind the woman's vāsas was streaming."<sup>354</sup>

"O worthy of oblation, Lord of prospering powers,  
assume they vastra."<sup>355</sup>

"For thee the radiant Dawns in the far distant sky  
broaden their lovely vastra forth in wondrous beams."<sup>356</sup>

"Anspicious, clad in white and shining vastra."<sup>357</sup>

"Loudly the folk cry after him in battles, as it were  
a thief who steals away a vastra."<sup>358</sup>

"Like fair and well-made vastras, I seeking riches,  
as a deft craftsman makes a car, have wrought them."<sup>359</sup>

"Yea from his Mother draws he forth a new vasana."<sup>360</sup>

The vāsas seem to have borders and fringes denoted by the word sic. Thus in one hymn of the Rigveda<sup>361</sup> the child is covered by its mother's sic and in another<sup>362</sup> the horizons at Sunrise and Sunset are said to be the two sican of the sky-cloth. In yet another hymn<sup>363</sup> we read "I grasp, mighty Indra, thy garment's hem as a child his father's." The upper part of the body was covered by another separate garment called adhivāsa.<sup>364</sup> The forests are the adhivāsa of mother earth licked by the fire-child.<sup>365</sup> The drāpi<sup>366</sup> is not a coat of mail as the authors of the Vedic Index say, for, it was worn by women as well. In Atharvaveda<sup>367</sup> Arāti is called hiranya-drāpi and is likened to a courtesan for wearing it. Moreover, the use of vasānaḥ<sup>368</sup> would rather show that it was made of vāsas. Further in the Atharvaveda<sup>369</sup> the Sun wearing the three worlds

<sup>353</sup> Ibid, VIII. 3. 24.

<sup>354</sup> Ibid, X. 102. 2.

<sup>355</sup> Ibid, I. 26. 1.

<sup>356</sup> Ibid, I. 134. 4.

<sup>357</sup> Ibid, III. 39. 2.

<sup>358</sup> Ibid, IV. 33. 5.

<sup>359</sup> Ibid, V. 29. 15.

<sup>360</sup> Ibid, I. 95. 7. For other references to woven garments read Rigveda I. 140. 1; I. 152. 1; II. 14. 3; III. 1. 6; III. 8. 4; V. 42. 8; V. 57. 4-5; VI. 4. 3; VI. 11. 6; VI. 35. 1; VI. 47. 23; IX. 8. 6; IX. 96. 1; X. 71. 4.

<sup>361</sup> X. 18. 11.

<sup>362</sup> Rigveda, I. 95. 7.

<sup>363</sup> Ibid, III. 53. 2.

<sup>364</sup> Rigveda I. 140. 9; X. 5. 4.

<sup>365</sup> Ibid, I. 140. 9.

<sup>366</sup> Ibid, I. 116. 10; IV. 53. 2; IX. 100. 9.

<sup>367</sup> V. 7. 10.

<sup>368</sup> Compare drāpim vasānaḥ, Rigveda IX. 86. 14. <sup>369</sup> XIII. 3. 1.



is said to have made a drāpi of them, so that drāpi like a vest or waist-coat had three pieces—two side ones and one back. It was close-fitting<sup>370</sup> and gold-embroidered.<sup>371</sup> The atka<sup>372</sup> was worn by men only and was a long<sup>373</sup> and fully covering<sup>374</sup> close-fitting<sup>375</sup> cloak, bright<sup>376</sup> and beautiful,<sup>377</sup> the stuff being bleached<sup>378</sup> cotton<sup>379</sup> interwoven<sup>380</sup> or embroidered<sup>381</sup> with gold threads. Peśas<sup>382</sup> is gold embroidered cloth,<sup>383</sup> the designs being artistic and intricate<sup>384</sup> and the inlay of gold heavy and brilliant.<sup>385</sup>

The material for clothing was probably wool (ūrnā). Puśan is described as vāso-vāya, weaving woolen cloth.<sup>386</sup> Indra is "wearing wool Paruṣṇe for adornment"<sup>387</sup> while the Maruts are said to "tarry on the Paruṣṇe, putting on robes of wool."<sup>388</sup> In another hymn we learn of "weaving the raiment of the sheep."<sup>389</sup> In this age the wool of Gāndhāra,<sup>390</sup> of the Paruṣṇi country<sup>391</sup> and of Sind<sup>392</sup> was highly prized.

<sup>370</sup> Rigveda I. 166. 10 (Cyavāna's old age like a drāpi); probably drāpi=a tight vest suitable for running about (drā).

<sup>371</sup> Ibid, I. 25. 13 (hiranyayam); IV. 53. 2 (piśangam).

<sup>372</sup> Ibid, I. 95. 7; I. 122. 2; IV. 18. 5; VI. 29. 3; VIII. 41. 7 etc.

<sup>373</sup> Ibid, II. 35. 14 (food carried in one's own atka: i.e., in the long skrit made into an apron).

<sup>374</sup> Ibid, V. 74. 5 (vavriṃ atkaṃ, likened to Cyavana's old age).

<sup>375</sup> Surabhimatkaṃ: Rigveda VI. 29. 3; X. 123. 7.

<sup>376</sup> Like Sun: Rigveda VI. 29. 3; X. 123. 7.

<sup>377</sup> Sudṛśi: Rigveda I. 122. 2.

<sup>378</sup> Śukram: Rigveda I. 95. 7.

<sup>379</sup> As vyūtam (Rigveda I. 122. 2) and frequent use of vasānah shows.

<sup>380</sup> Hiranyair vyūtam: Rigveda I. 122. 2.

<sup>381</sup> Hiranyayān: Rigveda V. 56. 6.

<sup>382</sup> Rigveda I. 92. 4; IV. 36. 7; II. 3. 6; VII. 34. 11; X. 114. 3 etc.

<sup>383</sup> Rigveda IV. 36. 7. VIII. 31. 11; VII. 42. 1.

<sup>384</sup> Ibid, II. 3. 6.

<sup>385</sup> Ibid, VII. 34. 11 (the glittering surface of rivers=peśas). Compare X. 114. where peśas is called bright as ghee (i.e., golden.)

<sup>386</sup> Rigveda X. 26. 6.

<sup>387</sup> Ibid, IV. 22. 2.

<sup>388</sup> Ibid, V. 52. 9.

<sup>389</sup> Ibid, X. 26. 6.

<sup>390</sup> Ibid, I. 126. 6—7.

<sup>391</sup> Ibid, IV. 22. 2; V. 52. 9.

<sup>392</sup> Ibid, X. 75. 8.

In the Rigveda there is no mention of cotton (kārpās) though silk-cotton tree was known. When, however, we bear in mind that already in the Calcholithic age the people of the Punjab and Sind knew the use of cotton and cotton-weaving the following remarks of Professor Muir gain added strength : "It is difficult to conceive that cotton (which as we learn from Professor S. H. Balfour, is supposed to have been indigenous in India), though not mentioned in the hymns, should have been unknown when they were composed or not employed for weaving the light cloth which is necessary in so warm a climate."<sup>393</sup> Long ago Professor Ragozin also wrote in the same strain "The Aryan settlers of Northern India had already begun at an amazingly early period to excel in the manufactures of the delicate tissue which has ever been and is today doubtless incomparably great in perfection, one of their industrial glories—a fact which implies cultivation of cotton-plant or tree."<sup>394</sup>

**Metal industry**—The metal industry was also in a highly developed condition "but it is, however, still uncertain" says Mr. Macdonell "what that metal which was called *ayas* was." The evidence of some of the old texts is often misleading. Thus in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>395</sup> *ayas* is any metal which is neither gold nor lead. In the Vājaseniya Saṃhitā<sup>396</sup> *ayas* is separated from Loha and Śyāmam. From the Atharvaveda<sup>397</sup> and even the Rigveda<sup>398</sup> the sense of iron for *ayas* is certain. Professor Schrader in his Prehistoric Antiquities well points out that Sanskrit *ayas* = Latin *aes* = Goth *aiz* = Zend *ayarih*, meaning pure dark copper and it is, therefore, quite probable that *ayas* of the Rigveda was neither iron nor bronze but the pure dark copper, a knowledge of which was common to all the Indo-European peoples. He further points out that "a series of names of copper gradually assumes the name of iron." Thus Sanskrit Loha originally meant copper but later it was used to denote iron.<sup>399</sup>

<sup>393</sup> Muir's Sanskrit Texts, V. p. 462.

<sup>394</sup> Ragozin—Vedic India, p. 306.

<sup>395</sup> V. 1. 2. 14.

<sup>396</sup> XVIII. 13.

<sup>397</sup> X. 3. 17.

<sup>398</sup> V. 25.

<sup>399</sup> Schrader—Prehistoric Antiquities, p. 212 ; Max Muller—Biographies, of Words, Appendix V. ; Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, I. p. 32.

In the Rigveda we have distinct references to the smelting of metals<sup>400</sup> and the business of the smith.<sup>401</sup> Vessels called mahāvira or gharmā made of ayas<sup>402</sup> and receptacles hammered or formed with a tool of ayas<sup>403</sup> are mentioned. We also read of chariots whose pillars or rather poles were made of ayas.<sup>404</sup> Knives made of ayas,<sup>405</sup> axes wrought of good metal,<sup>406</sup> arrows tipped with ayas<sup>407</sup> and the bits of the horse made of ayas<sup>408</sup> are also mentioned. Swords,<sup>409</sup> breast-plates,<sup>410</sup> lances,<sup>411</sup> spears,<sup>412</sup> daggers,<sup>413</sup> rings or quoits,<sup>414</sup> hatchets,<sup>415</sup> axes,<sup>416</sup> knives,<sup>417</sup> awls,<sup>418</sup> sickle,<sup>419</sup> hooks,<sup>420</sup> nails,<sup>421</sup> needles<sup>422</sup> and razors<sup>423</sup> are mentioned.

According to Professor Schrader gold was known to the Indo-Iranians as is proved by the similarity between Sanskrit *hiranya* and zend *zaranya*; and as a matter of fact we find innumerable references to gold and its use in the manufacture of weapons and ornaments as well as in exchange. Golden helmets for the head,<sup>424</sup> golden swords,<sup>425</sup> golden fellies,<sup>426</sup> cars

<sup>400</sup> Rigveda IV. 2. 17; V. 9. 5; VI. 3. 4; VI. 12. 3; IX. 72. 2; X. 81. 3.

<sup>401</sup> Ibid., IX 72. 2; IX. 112. 2.

<sup>402</sup> Ibid., V. 30. 15.

<sup>403</sup> Ibid., IX. 1. 2; IX. 80. 2.

<sup>404</sup> Ibid., V. 62. 7; V. 62. 8.

<sup>405</sup> Ibid., VIII. 29. 3.,

<sup>406</sup> Ibid., X. 53. 9.

<sup>407</sup> Ibid., VI. 75. 15.

<sup>408</sup> Ibid., IV. 37. 4.

<sup>409</sup> Ibid., I. 37. 2; I. 87. 6; I. 88. 3; V. 53. 4; X. 20. 6.

<sup>410</sup> Ibid., V. 53. 4.

<sup>411</sup> Ibid., I. 64. 4; I. 88. 1; V. 54. 11; V. 55. 1; V. 60. 3; VIII. 20. 11.

<sup>412</sup> Ibid., I. 31. 1; I. 37. 2; I. 85. 4; I. 87. 3; I. 167. 3; I. 169. 3; V. 57. 2; X. 78. 7.

<sup>413</sup> Ibid., V. 57. 2.

<sup>414</sup> Ibid., I. 64. 10; I. 87. 6; I. 166. 9; I. 168. 3; VIII. 85. 9; X. 38. 1; X. 73. 9.

<sup>415</sup> Ibid., III. 8. 11; VI. 3. 4.

<sup>416</sup> Ibid., I. 162. 9; I. 162. 18; III. 2. 1; III. 2. 10; III. 52. 22; V. 48. 4; VII. 3. 9; VII. 83. 1; VII. 104. 21; VIII. 62. 17; IX. 96. 6; X. 53. 10.

<sup>417</sup> Ibid., I. 130. 4; cf. I. 166. 10.

<sup>418</sup> Ibid., VI. 53. 6.

<sup>419</sup> Ibid., I. 58. 4; IV. 20. 5; VIII. 67. 10; X. 101. 3.

<sup>420</sup> Ibid., I. 162. 3; III. 45. 4.

<sup>421</sup> Ibid., I. 162. 9.

<sup>422</sup> Ibid., II. 33. 4.

<sup>423</sup> Ibid., VIII. 4. 16; X. 28. 9; cf. X. 142. 4.

<sup>424</sup> Ibid., II. 34. 3; VIII. 7. 25.

<sup>425</sup> Ibid., I. 42. 6; VII. 97. 7; VIII. 7. 32.

<sup>426</sup> Ibid., I. 64. 11.

with golden seats,<sup>427</sup> chariots decked with gold,<sup>428</sup> golden mail,<sup>429</sup> golden coloured mail,<sup>430</sup> golden mantles,<sup>431</sup> spears and weapons bright with gleaming gold<sup>432</sup> and arrows decked with gold<sup>433</sup> are mentioned.

Gold ornaments are frequently mentioned.<sup>434</sup> Gold chains worn on the breast,<sup>435</sup> gold on the priest's finger,<sup>436</sup> visors of gold for the head,<sup>437</sup> gold trappings for horses,<sup>438</sup> golden ornaments for kine<sup>439</sup> and golden goad for horses<sup>440</sup> are mentioned. Besides golden ornaments we find many references to glittering ornaments.<sup>441</sup> In the four Vedas, however, the word *alamkāra* does not occur.<sup>442</sup> The words *aramkṛta* and *aramkṛti*, having the sense of ornament do occur. From the Rigveda we get the names of the following ornaments of this period :—(1) *Anūka*. Geldner takes it as an ornament, though Roth, Ludwig and Oldenburg take it as an adverb only. But as the Vedic commentators have taken it to be an ornament, we may accept it as such. (2) *Opaśa*.<sup>443</sup> It was used for adorning the head. Roth thinks that it was a corruption of *aba + paśa* and hence meant hair-tape or hair net.<sup>444</sup> (3) *Karṇaśovana*.<sup>445</sup> It means an ornament for the ears, hence earring. (4) *Kukīra*.<sup>446</sup> According to

<sup>427</sup> Ibid., IV. 46. 4.

<sup>428</sup> Ibid., V. 57. 1 ; VII. 69. 1 ; VIII. 5. 35 ; VIII. 46. 24.

<sup>429</sup> Ibid., I. 25. 13.

<sup>430</sup> Ibid. IV. 53. 2.

<sup>431</sup> Ibid., V. 55. 6.

<sup>432</sup> Ibid., V. 52. 6.

<sup>433</sup> Ibid., VIII. 66. 11.

<sup>434</sup> Ibid., I. 85. 3 ; V. 56. 1 ; VII. 57. 3 ; VIII. 20. 11 ; X. 46. 33.

<sup>435</sup> Ibid., I. 64. 4 ; I. 166. 10 ; V. 54. 11 ; X. 78. 2 ; cf. VIII. 20. 22.

<sup>436</sup> Ibid., VIII. 29. 1 ; IX. 27. 4 ; IX. 55. 1 ; IX. 86. 43 ; IX. 97. 1.

<sup>437</sup> Ibid., V. 54. 11.

<sup>438</sup> Ibid., IV. 2. 8 ; IV. 37. 4.

<sup>439</sup> Ibid., VIII. 54. 10.

<sup>440</sup> Ibid., VIII. 55. 3.

<sup>441</sup> Ibid., I. 37. 2 ; I. 64. 4 ; I. 166. 10 ; V. 53. 4 ; VIII. 20. 7 ; VIII. 67. 2.

<sup>442</sup> The word *alamkāra* occurs for the first time in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa :  
Añjanāvyañjane prayachohatieṣaḥ amānuṣaḥ alamkāraḥ, XIII. 84. 7 ; also  
III. 5. 1. 36.

<sup>443</sup> Rigveda, X. 85. 8.

<sup>444</sup> Bloomfield in his Hymns of the Atharvaveda, pp. 538—39 takes it meant coverlet for women (Orpā). Prof. Subimal Sarkar in his Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India, pp. 71—72 take it to mean a style of hair-dressing.

<sup>445</sup> Rigveda, I. 112. 14 ; VIII. 67. 3.

<sup>446</sup> Ibid., X. 85. 8.

Zimmer it means peacock and therefore may well have been an arch-like ornament.<sup>447</sup> (5) *Kṛśān* (6) *Kṛśānin* (7) *Khādi*. According to Roth it was of three kinds : (a) an ornament for the legs like anklets<sup>448</sup> (b) an ornament for the arms like modern armlets or for the wrists like modern bangles<sup>449</sup> and (c) ring for the fingers.<sup>450</sup> (8) *Niṣka*. It was a necklace consisting of niṣkas, a kind of coins, as the word niṣkaḡrīva<sup>451</sup> would show. (9) *Nyochanī*. (10) *Puṇḍarīka* (11) *Puṣkara* (12) *Pravūṣaṇa* (13) *Varhana* (14) *Vūṣaṇa* (15) *Maṇi*.<sup>452</sup> It was a jewel worn on the neck, as the word maṇiḡrīva<sup>453</sup> would prove, by means of a thread.<sup>454</sup> According to the commentator Dūrgacārya<sup>455</sup> maṇi = āditya-maṇi, Sūryakānta-maṇi. (16) *Ratna* (17) *Rukma*.<sup>456</sup> It was an ornament worn on the breast,<sup>457</sup> as the epithet rukma-vakṣas<sup>458</sup> would prove. It appears to have been worn by the males as well, for, the Maruts or Wind-gods are described as decorated with it.<sup>459</sup> (18) *Rukmi* (19) *Lalāmī*. It was a tiara worn on the forehead like a frontlet. (20) *Varimat* (21) *Vyāñjana*. (22) *Viṣana* (23) *Śatapatra* (24) *Sivana*. (25) *Suniṣka*. (26) *Stūkā* (27) *Hiraṇyayī* (28) *Hiraṇyaśipra* (29) *Hirimat*.

**Carpentry**—The worker in wood constructed carts,<sup>460</sup> chariots<sup>461</sup> for war and race, ferry-boats<sup>462</sup> and ships.<sup>463</sup> Chariots were usually made of the wood of the Sinśipā tree ;<sup>464</sup> the wheels of the chariots were made of

<sup>447</sup> Mr. Subimal Sarkar in his *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India*, p. 72 takes it to be a kind of horn-shaped Coiffure.

<sup>448</sup> Rigveda, V. 53. 4 ; V. 53. 11.

<sup>449</sup> Ibid., I. 64. 10.

<sup>450</sup> Ibid., I. 168. 3.

<sup>451</sup> Ibid., V. 19. 3.

<sup>452</sup> Ibid., I. 33. 8.

<sup>453</sup> Ibid., I. 122. 14.

<sup>454</sup> Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa XX. 16. 6.

<sup>455</sup> VII. 23.

<sup>456</sup> Rigveda, I. 166. 10.

<sup>457</sup> Cf. Rukmapāśa in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa VI. 7. 1. 7.

<sup>458</sup> Rigveda II. 34. 2 ; II. 34. 8 ; V. 55. 1 ; V. 57. 5 etc.

<sup>459</sup> Ibid., V. 54. 11.

<sup>460</sup> Rigveda, II. 2. 1.

<sup>461</sup> Ibid., I. 61. 4 ; I. 94. 1 ; I. 130. 6 ; V. 2. 11 etc.

<sup>462</sup> Tāraḡ, Rigveda I. 190. 7.

<sup>463</sup> Rigveda, I. 116. 4 ; I. 116. 5 ; I. 25. 7 ; I. 48. 3 ; I. 97. 7 ; I- 131. 2 ; V. 25. 9 ; V. 45. 10 ; V. 54. 4 ; V. 59. 2 ; VI. 58. 3 ; VIII. 18. 17 ; VIII. 64. 9 ; VIII. 72. 3 ; IX. 73. 1.

<sup>464</sup> Ibid., III. 53. 19.

the wood of the Śemal tree<sup>465</sup> and of the Sinsīpā tree;<sup>466</sup> and the pin of the axle of chariots was made of the wood of the Khadira tree.<sup>467</sup> The fashioning of chariots was a frequent source of metaphor, the poet comparing his own skill of composing hymns to that of the wheel-wright.<sup>468</sup> The carpenter's work (takṣaṇa) is also referred to in many passages.<sup>469</sup> One passage<sup>470</sup> even describes "the carpenter who usually bends over his work till his back aches." Sacrificial vessels were made usually of Palāśa wood.<sup>471</sup> Wooden buckets<sup>472</sup> wooden vessels,<sup>473</sup> large wooden sacrificial ladle,<sup>474</sup> small wooden ladle, specially for Soma libation,<sup>475</sup> wooden ladle,<sup>476</sup> wooden posts with carved images of girls on them<sup>477</sup> and wooden bedsteads are mentioned. Of the last there were three varieties: (1) the *talpa*<sup>478</sup> (2) the *proṣṭha*<sup>479</sup> and (3) *vahya*.<sup>480</sup> Talpa was apparently the nuptial bedstead as the special use of the word *tālpa*<sup>481</sup> in the sense of legitimate son, being born on the nuptial bed<sup>482</sup> and its being made of sacred udambara wood would indicate. Proṣṭha as the epithet *proṣṭhaśaya* would show was a furniture to recline on; while *vahya* was a couch as proved by the simile in the Atharvaveda<sup>483</sup> like a tired bride ascending the *vahya*.

**Pottery**—The potter's art was also known. We read of Indra smashing the enemies like earthen vessels.<sup>484</sup> We also read of girls bearing water in their jars-<sup>485</sup> evidently made of pottery.

<sup>465</sup> Ibid., X. 85. 20

<sup>466</sup> Ibid., III. 53. 19.

<sup>467</sup> Ibid., III. 53. 19.

<sup>468</sup> Ibid., I. 61. 4; I. 94. 1; I. 130. 6; III. 39. 1; V. 2. 11; V. 29. 15.

<sup>469</sup> Ibid., IV. 35. 6; IV. 36. 5; VI. 32. 1.

<sup>470</sup> Ibid., I. 105. 18.

<sup>471</sup> Ibid., X. 97. 5.

<sup>472</sup> Ibid., X. 101. 7.

<sup>473</sup> Cf. *Hvārā*, Rigveda, I. 180. 3. According to Ludwig it means neither a snake nor a thief but a tub or wooden vessel. The common name for a wooden vessel was *dropa*, Rigveda, VI. 2. 8; VI. 37. 2; VI. 42. 10; IX. 65. 6; IX. 92. 6; IX. 93. 1.)

<sup>474</sup> *Sruc*, Rigveda, I. 84. 18; I. 110. 6; I. 144. 1.

<sup>475</sup> *Sruva*, Rigveda, I. 116. 24; I. 121. 6.

<sup>476</sup> *Dravi*, Rigveda, V. 6. 9; X. 105. 10.

<sup>477</sup> Rigveda, IV. 32. 23.

<sup>478</sup> Ibid., VII. 55. 8.

<sup>479</sup> Ibid., VII. 55. 8.

<sup>480</sup> Ibid., VII. 55. 8.

<sup>481</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XIII. 1. 6. 2.

<sup>482</sup> Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa.

<sup>483</sup> IV. 20. 3.

<sup>484</sup> Rigveda, VII. 104. 21; X. 89. 7.

<sup>485</sup> Ibid., I. 119. 14.

**Leather work**—The tanner (*carmamna*)<sup>486</sup> and the leather-worker are also mentioned.<sup>487</sup> We read of leather-receptacles for storing wine,<sup>488</sup> meat,<sup>489</sup> curds<sup>490</sup> and water,<sup>491</sup> leather-straps for chariots<sup>492</sup> etc.

**Manufacture of liquor**—The principal liquors manufactured were the Soma and the Surā. The juice was extracted from the Soma plant by being pounded with stones,<sup>493</sup> held in the hands.<sup>494</sup> Then the juice was squeezed out with the fingers,<sup>495</sup> and strained through a sieve made of wool<sup>496</sup> or of muñja grass.<sup>497</sup> Thus strained, the juice was blended with milk or curds.<sup>498</sup> Another intoxicating liquor manufactured was the Surā. According to the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa "it was, as opposed to Soma, essentially a drink of ordinary life."<sup>499</sup> Pānta was the name of another drink in this age.<sup>500</sup> As it was offered to the gods, commentators identified it with Soma. But it may well have been a drink of a different kind.

**House-building**—Though we have no extant remains of any building of this period, the great variety of words denoting a house to be found in the Rigveda shows that the people were long settled with a tradition of house-building. Agni raising his smoke to heaven has been compared to the builder of a house, rearing up a structure.<sup>501</sup> Measurement in connection with the building of a house or chamber is also referred to.<sup>502</sup> *Gaya*<sup>503</sup> is a common word for the house, inclusive of the inmates and their belongings; so are *dama*,<sup>504</sup> meaning house or home, implying an

<sup>486</sup> Rigveda, VIII. 5. 38.

<sup>487</sup> Muir—Original Sanskrit Texts, pp. 462 ff.

<sup>488</sup> Rigveda, I. 191. 10.

<sup>489</sup> Ibid., IV. 45. 1.

<sup>490</sup> Ibid., VI. 48. 18,

<sup>491</sup> Ibid., I. 85. 6; V. 83. 7.

<sup>492</sup> Ibid., VI. 47. 27.

<sup>493</sup> *Grāvan*, Rigveda, I. 83. 6; I. 135. 7; *adri*, Rigveda, I. 130. 2; I. 135. 5.

<sup>494</sup> Rigveda, V. 45. 7; IX. 11. 5.

<sup>495</sup> Ibid., IX. 67. 8.

<sup>496</sup> Ibid., I. 135. 6; IX. 103. 2, 3.

<sup>497</sup> Ibid., I. 161. 8.

<sup>498</sup> Ibid., IX. 103. 2.

<sup>499</sup> Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, II. p. 458.

<sup>500</sup> Rigveda, I. 122. 1; I. 155. 1; VII. 92. 1; X. 88. 1.

<sup>501</sup> Ibid., IV. 6. 2.

<sup>502</sup> Ibid., II. 75. 3.

<sup>503</sup> Ibid., I. 74. 2; V. 10. 3; V. 44. 7; VI. 2. 8.

<sup>504</sup> Ibid., I. 1. 8; I. 61. 9., I. 75. 5; II. 1. 2.

idea of control<sup>505</sup> and *dhāman*,<sup>506</sup> implying dwelling and signifying on the one hand the inmates of the house<sup>507</sup> and on the other law<sup>508</sup>—showing the connection in the Vedic mind between the house and all conceptions of law and order. Similarly, *śarma*<sup>509</sup> is a house and *pastyā(f)*<sup>510</sup> and *pastya(n)*<sup>511</sup> occurring singly or in the compounds *pastyāvanta*<sup>512</sup> *pastyavanta*<sup>513</sup> and *pastya-sad*<sup>514</sup> are other terms denoting a house. *Dur*,<sup>515</sup> the earlier and commoner word for door<sup>516</sup> has an implied sense of the whole house,<sup>517</sup> and *dur-ya* (door-posts),<sup>518</sup> *duryoṇa*,<sup>519</sup> all signify the house itself. *Sthāṇu*<sup>520</sup> and *sthūṇā*<sup>521</sup> are early names for pillars while smaller timber-posts were *svaru*,<sup>522</sup> *Yūpa*<sup>523</sup> and *drupad*.<sup>524</sup> This great variety of names for posts and pillars shows that they were a marked feature of a particular type of house-building. We have also references to the use of metals in the construction of houses such as *ayaḥsthūṇa* (pillar made of *ayas*).<sup>525</sup> In the *Rigveda* a sage named *Saptagu* prayed to *Indra* for “a spacious home unmatched among the people.”<sup>526</sup>

<sup>505</sup> Roth—St. Petersburg Dictionary, s. v. *dama*.

<sup>506</sup> *Rigveda*, I. 144. 1 ; II. 3. 2 ; III. 55. 10 ; VIII. 61. 4 ; VIII. 87. 2 ; X. 31. 1.

<sup>507</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII. 101. 6 ; IX. 36. 14 ; X. 82. 3.

<sup>508</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 55. 2 ; VI. 21. 3 ; VII. 63. 3 ; VIII. 41. 10 ; X. 48. 11.

<sup>509</sup> *Rigveda* VII. 82. 1 ; I. 51. 15.

<sup>510</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 25. 10 ; I. 40. 7 ; I. 164. 30 ; IV. 1. 11 ; VI. 49. 9 ; VII. 97. 5 ; IX. 65. 23 ; X. 46. 6.

<sup>511</sup> *Ibid.*, X. 96. 10, 11.

<sup>512</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 151. 2 ; II. 11. 6 ; IV. 54. 5 ; IX. 97. 18.

<sup>513</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 55. 3 ; VIII. 27. 5.

<sup>514</sup> *Ibid.*, VI. 51. 9. Roth—St. Petersburg Dictionary, s. v. ; Pischel—*Ved. Stud.* Vol. II. p. 211.

<sup>515</sup> *Rigveda*, I. 68. 10 ; I. 113. 4 ; I. 121. 4 ; I. 188. 5.

<sup>516</sup> *Dvār* in *Rigveda*, I. 13. 16.

<sup>517</sup> Thus *Dur-ya* (in masculine plural) = belonging to the door or to the house : *Rigveda*, I. 91. 19 ; X. 40. 12.

<sup>518</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 1. 9, 18 ; IV. 2. 12 ; VII. 1. 11.

<sup>519</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 174. 7 ; V. 29. 10 ; V. 32. 8.

<sup>520</sup> *Ibid.*, X. 40. 13.

<sup>521</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 59. 1 ; V. 45. 2 ; V. 62. 7 ; VIII. 17. 14.

<sup>522</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 92. 5 ; I. 162. 9 ; III. 8. 6.

<sup>523</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 51. 14.

<sup>524</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 24. 13 ; IV. 32. 23.

<sup>525</sup> *Ibid.*, V. 62. 7, 8.

<sup>526</sup> X. 47. 8.



The word *gr̥ha* occurs in many passages of the *Rigveda*.<sup>527</sup> According to some it denotes the house of the Vedic Aryan ; but as it is used of a special type of Śmaśāna, it may well have been a mansoleum erected over or beside the grave as described in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*.<sup>528</sup>

The *harmya*<sup>529</sup> denoted the Vedic house including stables etc<sup>530</sup> and was adorned with pillars which supported the roof.<sup>531</sup> Mitra and Varuṇa had a palace with one thousand pillars.<sup>532</sup> The sage Bharadvāja prayed to Indra for a house which should be tri-dhātu and tri-varūtha.<sup>533</sup> According to some scholars the house prayed for was to be made of wood, brick and stone and hence called tri-dhātu. Śāyana explains tridhātu by the word tri-bhūmika, that is, three-storied or possessing three court-yards or separate apartments. The first that was in the front was probably constructed with stone to make it strong enough to stand the attacks of enemies or robbers and the second and third were made of mud and timber. The word tri-varūtha occurs again in another verse<sup>534</sup> where it probably means a house possessing three apartments. We also find references to ladies' apartments<sup>535</sup> halls of sacrifice with doors,<sup>536</sup> cow-pens<sup>537</sup> and stables for horses.<sup>538</sup>

<sup>527</sup> II. 42. 3 ; III. 53. 6 ; IV. 49. 6 ; V. 76. 4 ; VIII. 10. 1 ; X. 18. 12 ; X. 85. 26.

<sup>528</sup> The unorthodox memorial structure was round and domeshaped (*parimaṇḍalā*, *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII. 8. 1), 'enclosed by an indefinite number of Stones' (*Ibid.*, XIII. 8. 2. 2). The Orthodox style is square or quadrilateral (*Ibid.*, XIII. 8. 1. 1 ff), not separate from the earth, that is, not towering (*Ibid.*, XIII. 8. 2. 1) and made of bricks one foot square (*Ibid.*, XIII. 8. 4. 11). The unorthodox style was the prototype of Buddhist Stupa architecture and the Orthodox style is represented in the temple architecture of Mādura, Tanjore and other cities of Southern India.

<sup>529</sup> *Rigveda* I. 166. 4 ; IX. 71. 4 ; IX. 78. 3 ; X. 43. 3 ; X. 73. 10.

<sup>530</sup> *Ibid.*, VII. 56. 16 ; cf. X. 106. 5. <sup>531</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 5. 1.

<sup>532</sup> *Sahasra-sthūna*, *Ibid.*, II. 41. 5 ; V. 62. 6 ; VII. 88. 5.

<sup>533</sup> *Ibid.*, VI. 46. 9.

<sup>534</sup> *Rigveda* X. 66. 5. <sup>535</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 167. 3.

<sup>536</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 13. 6 ; I. 188. 5 ; II. 3. 5 ; III. 4. 5 ; III. 34. 7 ; III. 51. 3 ; V. 5. 5 ; V. 11. 4 ; V. 13. 3 ; VI. 27. 2.

<sup>537</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 92. 4 ; I. 191. 4 ; V. 33. 10 ; V. 34. 5 ; V. 45. 6 ; V. 62. 2 ; VI. 10. 3 ; VI. 17. 2 ; VI. 28. 1 ; VI. 45. 24 ; VI. 62. 11 ; VI. 65. 5.

<sup>538</sup> *Ibid.*, VII. 56. 16 ; cf. X. 106. 5.

Building activities must also have developed in these times through the needs of social and corporate life as in the case of the *goṣṭhi* (clubs), the *vidatha* (royal audience-hall), the *sabhā* and the like.<sup>539</sup>

We have no direct allusion to the *arts of painting and sculpture* in the hymns of the Rigveda. According to Max Muller "the religion of the Veda knows of no idols"<sup>540</sup> though Dr. Ballensen<sup>541</sup> finds in the hymns clear references to the images of gods. Thus we read : "who for ten milch kine purchaseth from me this Indra who is mine ? When he hath slain the Vṛtras let the buyer give him back to me."<sup>542</sup> Now what is signified by the purchase of Indra for ten milch kine ? Was there any painted figure of Indra or carved out image of Indra on wood or stone that used to be temporarily parted with for a consideration and returned after worship ? Or, is it merely a metaphorical way, as Griffith points out, of saying that the poet-priest who had obtained the favour of Indra for his patron by sacrifice demanded a fee of ten milch kine ? We further read : "O Caster of Stone, I would not sell thee for a mighty price, not for a thousand, Thunderer ! nor ten thousand, nor a hundred, Lord of countless wealth."<sup>543</sup> The word used here for price is *sulka*. The reference must, therefore, have been to an image of Indra. The authors of the Vedic Index observe "Ten cows are regarded as a possible price for an (image of) Indra to be used as a fetish (Rigveda IV. 24. 10) ; elsewhere (VIII. 1. 5) not hundred, nor a thousand nor a myriad are considered as an adequate price (*sulka*) for the purchase of Indra" In this connection it is worthy of note that the description of gods in the Rigveda is mainly anthropomorphical and it is just possible that artists sometimes painted their figures in colour or carved out images on wood or stone to represent their functions. As a matter of fact, carved images on wooden posts are mentioned in a verse which reads : "Like two slight images of girls, unrobed upon a new-

<sup>539</sup> Mr. Subimal Sarkar—Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India, pp. 5—15.

<sup>540</sup> Chips from a German Workshop I. p. 38.

<sup>541</sup> Journal of the German Oriental Society, XXII. p. 587 ff.

<sup>542</sup> Rigveda, IV. 24. 10. Griffith's Translation of the Rigveda, I. p. 427.

<sup>543</sup> Rigveda, VIII. 1. 5. Griffith's Translation of the Rigveda, II. p. 103.

wrought post, so shine thy Bay Steeds in their course"<sup>544</sup> **Caste system in relation to mobility of labour**—The question now presents itself as to the extent to which in the period of the Rigveda the caste system had been developed and stood as a barrier against the mobility of labour. The orthodox Hindu holds that the caste system is of divine appointment and that it had existed for all time. But the sacred books themselves when they are studied historically, supply evidence both of its origin and of its growth. We are told in the Śānti Parva of the Mahābhārata that "at first there was no caste." The distinction between the colour (varṇa) of the Aryan conquerors and that of the coloured aboriginal tribes first formed the basis of caste.<sup>545</sup> The question is thus narrowed down to the consideration of the arguments for and against the view that among the Aryans themselves caste divisions were appearing. Messrs. Muir,<sup>546</sup> Zimmer,<sup>547</sup> and Weber<sup>548</sup> have denied the existence of caste in any form in this period. Professor Max Muller says "If then with all the documents before us, we ask the question, does caste as we find in Manu and at the present day form part of the most ancient religious teaching of the Vedas? we can answer with a decided 'no'."<sup>549</sup> Weber in his History of Sanskrit Literature also hold the same view and says "there are no castes as yet, the people are still one united whole, and bear but one name that of Viśas."<sup>550</sup> But Messrs. Geldner<sup>551</sup> and Oldenburg<sup>552</sup> hold the opposite view. It has been argued that the warriors of the community were the agricultural and industrial classes and the priesthood was not yet hereditary. Any person who distinguished himself for his genius or virtue or who for some reason was deemed specially receptive of divine inspiration could be a priest. Every Vedic householder was a priest unto himself so far at least as the

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<sup>544</sup> Rigveda, IV. 32. 33. Griffith's Translation of the Rigveda, I. p. 437.

<sup>545</sup> Rigveda, I. 100. 18.

<sup>546</sup> Original Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I. pp. 239 ff.

<sup>547</sup> Altindischen Leben, pp. 185—203.

<sup>548</sup> Indische Studien, Vol. X. pp. 1 ff.

<sup>549</sup> Chips from a German Workshop, Vol. II. p. 307.

<sup>550</sup> English Translation, p. 38.

<sup>551</sup> Vedische Studien, Vol. II. p. 146.

<sup>552</sup> Z. D. M. G., Vol. LI. pp. 267 ff.

performance of ordinary daily religious duties was concerned viz., the lighting up of the sacred Household Fire and the pouring of libations of *habis* into it thrice a day. It was only on special occasions when any *Sattra* or big religious sacrifice had to be performed that the services of experts were requisitioned and paid for. These experts, did not, however, form a separate caste by themselves in the sense in which we understand it today, with its exclusiveness and strict elaborate rules as regards eating, drinking and association by marriage etc. For, "the word *Brāhmaṇa*, the regular name for a 'man of the first caste'" says Professor Macdonell "is still rare in the *Rigveda*, occurring only eight times, while *Brahman*, which simply means sage or officiating priest is found forty-six times"<sup>553</sup> Indeed the growth of the caste system was the result of the complication of life due to the further penetration of the Aryans from the Punjab into the East. To resist the sudden incursion or to crush the attempts at rebellion of the aborigines, the petty tribal princes formed the nucleus of a standing armed force while the industrial and agricultural population relying on the protection of the warrior class abandoned the use of arms. Together with the growth in the size of kingdoms and the increasing complexity of civilisation, the simple ritual of an earlier period when the king himself can sacrifice for his people, grew to an extent which rendered this impracticable, while at the same time, the idea grew up that upon the faithful and exact performance of the rites depended the result of battle. The result was the growth of a priesthood, a warrior class and of a third the artisan and the cultivator sharply distinguished from one another and strictly hereditary. But the later origin of this development is proved by the fact that it took place not in the Punjab, the home of the *Rigveda* but in the Middle country whose geographical isolation favoured the evolution of this peculiar social system. A student of the *Rigveda* without knowledge of historical facts might reasonably presume that the Indus basin where the Aryans first settled in India would be the Holy land of Hinduism. The poets never tire of singing praises of the mighty Indus and its tributaries.<sup>554</sup> The combined testimony of the *jātakas* and the Greek

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<sup>553</sup> History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 161—62.

<sup>554</sup> Cf. *Nadi-stuti* in *Rigveda*, X. 75.

authors proves that in the fourth century B. C. Taxila in the N. W. Punjab was still a centre of Vedic learning. But the strange fact is that orthodox Hindus regard the whole Punjab between the Indus and the Satlej as impure land unfit for the residence of strict votaries of Dharma. The reason apparently is that the N. W. territories continued to be overrun by successive swarms of foreigners from central Asia who disregarded the Brahmins with the result that the original inhabitants of the Punjab intermixed with these barbarian conquerors, imbibed their outlandish practices and did not follow the strict caste system.

While there is much truth in this view, it must be admitted that it exaggerated the freedom of the Rigveda from caste. For the term *Br̥hmaṇa* 'son of a *Brahmā*' which occurs no less than eight times in the Rigveda seems to show that the priesthood was normally hereditary. We are told that there is a case of a king exercising the functions of a domestic priest and sacrificing himself for his people but the alleged case, that of Devapi rests only on the assertion of a commentator of a hymn<sup>555</sup> in which Devapi appears that he was originally a king. Even, however, if this was the case, it must be remembered that even after the complete establishment of the caste system it was still the privilege of kings to exercise some priestly functions such as that of the study of the nature of the Absolute, a practice ascribed to them in the Upaniṣads. The arguments regarding the warrior class rest on a misunderstanding. Even in the latest Vedic epoch, we have no ground to suppose that there was a special class which reserved its energies for war alone and that the industrial population and the agriculturists allowed the fate of their tribe to be decided by contests between warrior-bands but the Rigveda certainly knows of a ruling class, and the Vedic Kingship was normally hereditary, so that we may well believe that even then there existed, though perhaps in embryo, a class of nobles who are aptly named in the term of the *Puruṣasukta* hymn,<sup>556</sup> *Rājanyas*, as being 'men of kingly family'.

But this *Puruṣasukta* hymn though commonly supposed to be "the only passage in the Rigveda which enumerates the four castes" has nothing to

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<sup>555</sup> Rigveda, X. 98.

<sup>556</sup> Rigveda, X. 90.

do with caste. The hymn has for its subject a cosmogony, a theory of creation. It tells of the creation of all things from the sacrifice of a fabulous monster-man or Puruṣa, his severed limbs giving birth to the world. As pointed out by Mr. Andrew Lang<sup>557</sup> the same primitive mode of accounting for creation is found in the Norse legend, where the earth, the seas, water, mountains, clouds and firmament are formed by dividing up the body of Giant Ymir. So also in the Chaldean story, a monster-woman is divided in twain by Bel to form the heavens and earth. The same story runs through the myths of the Iroquois in North America as well as through those of Egypt and Greece. The Vedic story which runs close to those of other folk differs from them according to some scholars in this that it goes on to add that from Puruṣa also sprang the four classes of people. But Mr. V. A. Smith rightly observes "Both the Brahmin and fire come from Puruṣa's mouth, just as the servile man or Śūdra and earth both proceed from his feet. No suggestion of the existence of caste-groups is made. Mankind is simply and roughly classified under four heads according to occupation, the more honourable profession being naturally assigned to the more honourable symbolical origin. It is absurd to treat the symbolical language of the poem as a narrative of supposed facts."<sup>558</sup> "This is an attempt" says Mr. R. W. Frazer, "to force an antiquity for a social system by connecting it with an undeniably ancient legend."<sup>559</sup>

Thus though there were kings and sacrificial priests though there were warriors and the great body of the people, cultivators, artisans and dealers in merchandise, the people were not tied down to the rigidity of a caste system whence hereditary occupation was allotted to the members. Viśvāmitra who belonged to the rajanya class acted as a priest.<sup>560</sup> Poet-priests, on the other hand, prayed to the gods for the birth of sons who would be able to defeat their enemies in battles.<sup>561</sup> Indeed the poet-priest Mudgala did not hesitate to take up arms against robbers who had stolen

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<sup>557</sup> Myth, Ritual and Religion, Vol. I. p. 243.

<sup>558</sup> Oxford History of India, p. 36.

<sup>559</sup> Literary History of India, p. 25.

<sup>560</sup> Rigveda III. 53. 9.

<sup>561</sup> Ibid., V. 23. 12 ; VI. 31. 1.

his cows and his valiant wife drove the car for him and came to his rescue when the situation had become somewhat embarrassing for him.<sup>562</sup> The Rigveda also refers to Śūdra kings. One poet-priest tells us that his father was a physician while his mother ground grain between mill-stones.<sup>563</sup> The descendants of the poet-priest Bhṛgu were experts in fashioning chariots.<sup>564</sup> Gamblers are advised without any reference to their class to take to agriculture and pastoral pursuits,<sup>565</sup> proving thereby that in the economy of this period there was much mobility of labour. The existence of this freedom of movement from one occupation to another led to the dignity of labour. As Tvastṛ was the god who forged the thunderbolt for Indra, no odium was attached to the work of the smith who manufactured weapons for men. The worker in wood had clearly the place of honour and we find the priests themselves preparing sacrificial posts and altars.

**Labour and Occupations**—We have just seen that the Rigveda shows germs of a social division arising out of the adoption of different occupations by different sections of the community. The following verse describes some of the professions very beautifully :—

“Men’s tastes and trades are multifarious,  
And so their ends and aims are various.  
The smith seeks something cracked to mend,  
The leech would fain have sick to tend.  
The priest desires a devotee,  
From whom he may extract his fee.  
Each craftsman makes and vends his ware,  
And hopes the rich man’s gold to share.”<sup>566</sup>

Besides the priestly and ruling classes we find the following functional groups :—(1) Kīṇāśa,<sup>567</sup> the ploughman (2) Dhānyakṛt,<sup>568</sup> the husker and

<sup>562</sup> Ibid., X. 102.

<sup>564</sup> Ibid., X. 31. 14.

<sup>565</sup> Ibid., X. 34. 13.

<sup>566</sup> Rigveda IX. 112. 1—2.

<sup>567</sup> Ibid., IV. 57. 8.

<sup>568</sup> Ibid., X. 94. 13.

<sup>563</sup> Ibid., IX. 112. 3.

winnowers of corn (3) Gopā,<sup>569</sup> herdsman (4) Vāya,<sup>570</sup> the weaver of sundry piece goods corresponding to the modern Jolā in Bengal producing napkins, covers etc. (5) Vāso-vāya,<sup>571</sup> the weaver of the standard vāsas or wearing cloth corresponding to the modern tāñti in Bengal (6) Dhātṛ,<sup>572</sup> one who smelts (dhmā) the (metal) ore (with bellows of bird's feathers<sup>573</sup>) (7) Karmāra,<sup>574</sup> the smith (8) Takṣan<sup>575</sup> or tvastṛ<sup>576</sup> the carpenter (9) Rathakāra who made carts<sup>577</sup> and chariots (10) Carmamna<sup>578</sup> the tanner and leather-worker (11) potter who made earthen vessels of all sorts<sup>579</sup> (12) vaptā<sup>580</sup> the barber who is clearly mentioned as shaving beards (13) Bhiṣak,<sup>581</sup> the physician who treated patients for a fee. A poet-priest says "I will give to thee, O physician, a horse, a cow, a garment, yea, even myself."<sup>582</sup> The healing properties of herbs and plants were known to them from which they prepared medicines as is apparent from a hymn<sup>583</sup> devoted wholly to the praise of medicinal plants and the physicians who deal with them. The physicians restored the aged and decrepit Cyavana to youth and rendered him desirable to his wife and made him the husband of maidens.<sup>584</sup> Rājāśva had his eyesight restored,<sup>585</sup> while Parāvrj was cured of blindness and hameness.<sup>586</sup> Ghōṣā was cured of her skin-disease<sup>587</sup> while Viśpalā whose-leg was cut off in a

<sup>569</sup> Ibid., I. 164. 21; II. 23. 6; III. 10. 2; V. 12. 4. etc.

<sup>570</sup> Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, s. v. Vāya.

<sup>571</sup> Rigveda, X. 26. 6.

<sup>572</sup> Ibid., V. 9. 5; VII. 2. 4.

<sup>573</sup> Ibid., IX. 112. 2.

<sup>574</sup> Ibid., IX. 112. 2; X. 72. 2.

<sup>575</sup> Ibid., IX. 112. 1.

<sup>576</sup> Ibid., X. 119. 5.

<sup>577</sup> Ibid., X. 146. 3.

<sup>578</sup> Ibid., VIII. 5. 38.

<sup>579</sup> Ibid., VII. 104. 21; X. 89. 7.

<sup>580</sup> Ibid., X. 142. 4.

<sup>581</sup> Ibid., IX. 112. 1, 3.

<sup>582</sup> Ibid., X. 97. 4.

<sup>583</sup> Ibid., X. 97.

<sup>584</sup> Ibid., I. 116. 10.

<sup>585</sup> Ibid., I. 116. 16.

<sup>586</sup> Ibid., I. 116. 8.

<sup>587</sup> Vedic Mythology, 21.



battle was given an iron one instead. (14) *Vañij*,<sup>588</sup> a merchant (15) *Nṛtu*, a dancing girl. It has been contended that the word *nṛtu* does not imply dancing girls as a professional class in the community; it might be that the unmarried girls or the ladies of the harem danced on special occasions as the Roman matrons danced and sang publicly on *Floralia* or Feast of Fool days and the females of the aristocratic families in Java and Vali still do. But the passage in question reads :

“*Nṛturivāpōrnute bakṣa usreva vajraham*”<sup>589</sup>

“Like a dancing girl she bares her bosom as a cow yields her udder (at the time of milching)” — such shameless dancing with bare breasts for attraction cannot be ascribed to decent and respectable women who always appeared before the public well — covered.<sup>590</sup>

Mr. Baden Powell in his *Indian Village Community* assumes that the Aryans had their lands cultivated by the conquered aborigenes; but the *Rigveda* unquestionably describes a society which is not dependent on such servile labour and in which cultivators, artisans and handicraftsmen are in no way regarded as inferior members of the community. We hear, no doubt, of slaves<sup>591</sup> and of gifts of slaves<sup>592</sup> but we have no evidence to show that they were largely employed or that slavery became the basis of husbandry. The ordinary tasks of life appears to have been carried out by the freemen of the tribe.

**Domestic Labour** — “*Jāyēdastam*”<sup>593</sup> (the wife is the home) exclaimed *Viśvāmitra* in his ecstatic vision of the true source of domestic felicity. Hence many of the household duties were entrusted to the ladies of the house. Philological evidence shows that it was the *mātā* (mother) who distributed the food, while the *duhitā* (daughter) used to milch the cow. We find women weaving,<sup>594</sup> drawing water from wells in *Kumbhas*<sup>595</sup> and preparing

<sup>588</sup> *Rigveda*, I. 112. 11 ; V. 45. 6.

<sup>589</sup> *Rigveda*, I. 92. 4.

<sup>590</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII. 17. 7 ; VIII. 26. 13.

<sup>591</sup> *Ibid.*, VII. 86. 7.

<sup>592</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII. 19. 13 ; VIII. *Vāṅkilya* Hymn No. 8. 3.

<sup>593</sup> *Rigveda* III. 3. 4.

<sup>594</sup> *Ibid.*, X. 71. 9 ; cf. II. 3. 8 ; II. 38. 4 ; V. 47. 6.

<sup>595</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 191. 14.

the Soma drink.<sup>596</sup> We find them churning milk and curds and preparing butter out of them.<sup>597</sup> Husking, winnowing and many other similar duties were entrusted to women<sup>598</sup> though in the age of the Atharvaveda<sup>599</sup> slave-girls were employed for the purpose in the comparatively well-to-do families. The tending of cattle while at home was part of the house-wife's duties as would appear from the marriage-hymn of the Rigveda<sup>600</sup> where she is asked to be gentle to the cattle and to bring blessing to her husband's bipeds and quadrupeds.

**Domestic and Foreign Trade**—We have seen that Rigvedic society was sufficiently settled to admit of a prosperous agriculture and of a remarkable development in arts and crafts. "The Sindhu was rich in horses, rich in chariots, rich in clothes, rich in gold ornaments, well-made, rich in food, rich in wool, ever fresh, abounding in Silamī plants (said to be used in cordage) and the auspicious river wears honey-growing flowers"<sup>601</sup> The trade in the products of agriculture and industry was carried on by the Vāṇij or Vāṇij denoting a merchant. In the Rigveda we find the use of the verb *kri*, to purchase<sup>602</sup> and of *śulka*, price.<sup>603</sup> We have also a passage<sup>604</sup> which suggests if not a contract for sale, at least haggling over prices: "A man has realised a small price for an article of great value, and again coming (to the buyer he says) this has not been sold; I require the full price; but he does not recover a small price by a large (equivalent): whether helpless or clever, they adhere to their bargain" According to this translation made by Wilson contracts seemed to have been made at the time of sale and purchase and the terms agreed upon could not be altered afterwards. Griffith translates the passage thus:

"He bid a small price for a thing of value; I  
was content, returning still purchased.

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<sup>596</sup> Ibid., I. 28. 3; IX. 67. 8.

<sup>597</sup> Ibid., I. 28. 4.

<sup>598</sup> Upalaprakṣinī in the Rigveda.

<sup>599</sup> XII. 3. 13.

<sup>600</sup> X. 85. 44.

<sup>601</sup> Rigveda, X. 75. 8.

<sup>602</sup> Ibid., IV. 24. 10.

<sup>603</sup> Ibid., VIII. 1. 5.

<sup>604</sup> Ibid., IV. 24. 9.

**He heightened not his insufficient offer, Simple  
and clever both milk out the udder"**

and remarks "both the simple or needy buyer and the shrewd seller make as much as they can out of the bargain."<sup>605</sup> Thus prices seemed to have been settled finally only after much higgling and haggling.

For the conduct of this trade there were the roads and travellers' rest-houses even in this age. The recent excavations in Sind and the Punjab prove the existence of S. W. ports in the pre-Aryan India of the third millenium B. C. and the cross-country roads feeding them may have been much older than the Aryan settlement. We have already referred to the prayers in the Rigveda for protection on a journey offered to Puṣan who was the deity presiding over roads and paths.<sup>606</sup> Agni and the sages like the Roman pontifices are called pathi-kṛt, the path-makers.<sup>607</sup> Travelling seems to have been quite common even in those early times for we read "Two with one Dame ride on with winged steeds and journey forth like travellers on their way."<sup>608</sup> We also read of prapathas, rest-houses for travellers<sup>609</sup> and the epithet prapathin<sup>610</sup> given to a Yadava prince shows that princes of those times constructed rest-houses for the benefit of the travellers. The word setu occurs in the Rigveda<sup>611</sup> but its precise sense does not come out clearly. It has been held that a causeway of an ordinary type, merely a raised bank for crossing inundated land is meant, and that its use is probably metaphorical ; but a metaphorical use of a term can hardly come into existence unless there has been previous simple use of it.

The articles of trade were carried from one part of the country to the other in waggons drawn by bullocks<sup>612</sup> and horses,<sup>613</sup> and probably also by

<sup>605</sup> Griffith's Rigveda, Vol. I. p 426 fn.

<sup>606</sup> Rigveda I. 42. 1 ; VI. 49. 8 ; VI. 51. 1 ; VI. 53. 1.

<sup>607</sup> Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, I. pp. 489—90.

<sup>608</sup> Rigveda, VIII. 29. 8.

<sup>609</sup> Ibid., X. 17. 4, 6 ; X. 63. 16.

<sup>610</sup> Ibid., VIII. 1. 13.

<sup>611</sup> X. 41. 2.

<sup>612</sup> Rigveda II. 2. 1.

<sup>613</sup> Ibid., X. 101. 7.

buffaloes<sup>614</sup> and asses.<sup>615</sup> Camels<sup>616</sup> and dogs<sup>617</sup> were also used as beasts of burden. A poet-priest prays for the gift of one hundred asses<sup>618</sup> which were required not certainly to draw his chariots, for, he could not have possessed many, but simply to carry his burden. It may seem strange that the dog was used as a beast of burden, but the reference in the Rigveda is quite clear.<sup>619</sup> The caravans consisting of the merchants, their retainers and waggons and the above-mentioned beasts of burden moved on from place to place, selling the commodities they carried and purchasing such articles as would be wanted elsewhere. They were thus the forerunners of the svārtha-vāhas of the early Buddhist literature and the Jātakas.

Scholars are, however, divided in their opinion as to whether this trade was carried on across the seas to foreign lands. Macdonell, Ragozin and Hopkins hold that the Aryans of this age were unacquainted with the sea. Mr. Keith observes "The Vedic Indian seems to have been very little of a navigator."<sup>620</sup> Mr. Frazer remarks "It is doubtful if the early Aryans ever knew the ocean. The seas of water they mention may have referred to the wide-stretching Indus."<sup>621</sup> Mr. Macdonell also identifies the western Samudra with the Indus. But then what about the Pūrva or Eastern Samudra which also is mentioned. Further, the Rigveda speaks of the four Samudras.<sup>622</sup> We shall now adduce evidences from the Rigveda which in Bühler's opinion<sup>623</sup> "prove the early existence of the complete navigation of the Indian Ocean and of trading voyages by Indians." One hymn<sup>624</sup> represents Varuṇa having a full knowledge of the ocean-routes along which vessels sail. Another hymn<sup>625</sup> speaks of merchants who

<sup>614</sup> Ibid., X. 102. 7.

<sup>615</sup> Ibid., I. 34. 9 ; I. 116. 2 ; I. 162. 2 ; VIII. 74. 7 ; cf. IV. 36. 1 ; I. 117. 16.

<sup>616</sup> Ibid., I. 138. 2.

<sup>617</sup> Ibid., VIII. 46. 28.

<sup>618</sup> Ibid., VIII. 56. 3.

<sup>619</sup> Śunesitam in Rigveda VIII. 46. 28.

<sup>620</sup> Rapson—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I., p. 101.

<sup>621</sup> Literary History of India, p. 29.

<sup>622</sup> Rigveda, IX. 33. 6 ; X. 47. 2.

<sup>623</sup> Origin of the Brahmi Alphabet, p. 84.

<sup>624</sup> Rigveda, I. 25. 7.

<sup>625</sup> Ibid., I. 56. 2.

frequent every part of the sea in pursuit of gain. Another hymn<sup>626</sup> mentions merchants sending out ships to foreign countries under the influence of greed. Another hymn<sup>627</sup> refers to a prayer to the sea by people desirous of wealth, before undertaking a voyage.

Mr. Keith observes "The use of boats or probably dug-outs for crossing rivers was known but the simplicity of their construction is adequately shown by the fact that the paddle alone was used for their propulsion. There is no mention of rudder or anchor, mast or sails, a fact which incidentally negatives the theory that the Vedic Aryans took part in ocean-shipping."<sup>628</sup> But we can point out that the Rigveda has no prohibition against sea-voyages; on the contrary it has distinct allusions to them. All the Vedic ships were not simple in their construction as there is a reference to a ship with one hundred oars.<sup>629</sup> Some of them were furnished with "wings" i.e., sails.<sup>630</sup> Moreover, the people sailed on the seas, not only for trade but also for pleasure trips and warlike purposes. They must have resorted to coastal voyages only, though there is mention of a naval expedition<sup>631</sup> sent by Tugra under his son Bhujyu "in the ocean which giveth no support or hold or station."<sup>632</sup> There is also mention of islands situated in the midst of the sea<sup>633</sup> Vasiṣṭha thus describes his pleasure trip in Rigveda VII. 88. 3 :—

"When Varuṇa and I embark together and urge  
our boat into the midst of ocean,  
We, when we ride o'er ridges of the<sup>634</sup>,  
waters, will swing within that swing and there be happy."

Referring to these passages even Messrs. Macdonell and Keith<sup>635</sup> observe "It is not easy to refuse to recognise here the existence of longer vessels

<sup>626</sup> Ibid., I. 48. 3.

<sup>627</sup> Ibid., IV. 55. 6.

<sup>628</sup> Rapson—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 101.

<sup>629</sup> Rigveda, I. 116. 5.

<sup>630</sup> Ibid., X. 143. 5.

<sup>631</sup> Ibid., I. 116. 3—5.

<sup>632</sup> Griffith's Rigveda I. p. 154.

<sup>633</sup> Rigveda I. 169. 3; X. 10. 1.

<sup>634</sup> Griffith's Rigveda II. p. 84.

<sup>635</sup> Vedic Index, I. p. 462.

with many oars and for sea-voyages." We further read "As merchants desirous of wealth surround the Sea, so do the priests surround Indra."<sup>636</sup> Here the use of the theme by way of a simile seems to show that sea-voyages by merchants were not a rare occurrence but fairly well-known to the public at large.

From the accounts of the earliest historiographers we learn that Navigation made its first efforts on the Mediterranean Sea and on the Perisan Gulf. These seas lay open the continents of Asia Europe and Africa and washing the shores of the most fertile and the most early civilised countries, seemed to have been destined by Nature to facilitate their communication with one another. We find accordingly that the first voyages of the Egyptians and the Phœnicians were made in the Mediterranean and Red Seas. Their trade was however, not long confined to the countries bordering on these seas. By acquiring early possession of the ports of the Arabian Sea, they extended the sphere of their commerce and are represented to have opened up communications by sea with India. Dr. Day remarks in his History Commerce "The beginnings of these sea-voyages are lost in the obscurity of the past. We know that they were highly developed by 1500 B. C., when Sidon was the leading city and that they did not cease to extend when the primacy of Phœnician cities passed to Tyre."

It is a well-known fact that the Phœnician trade had three branches viz., Arabian-Indian, Egyptian and the Assyrio-Babylonian. We are here chiefly concerned with the first. According to some scholars the Pani of the Rigveda is Latin Pœni = Phœnicians, a trading people. They were a clan of Asuras whose chiefs Vitra and Vala were defeated in a fight with the Devas and were ousted from the north. They, therefore, finally settled in the Levant. Their new colony Pani-deśa, Latin Finidis = Phœnicia. The Phœnicians are described by the Classical writers of Europe as faithless, treacherous and deceitful—a description quite in unision with the Vedic account. Thus they are described in the Rigveda as "riteless and godless"<sup>637</sup> "traffickers,"<sup>638</sup> "extremely greedy like wolf,"<sup>639</sup> foolish,

<sup>636</sup> Rigveda, I. 56. 2.

<sup>637</sup> Ibid., I. 33. 3.

<sup>638</sup> Rigveda, I. 33. 5.

<sup>639</sup> Ibid., VI. 51. 14.

faithless, rude speaking niggards without belief, sacrifice or worship.<sup>640</sup> These Phœnician traders would come to India by the Red Sea route and also by the caravan route from the shores of the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean coast of Syria. Several harbours of the Arabian Sea were seized by the Phœnicians from the Idumeans. But the distance of Tyre from these ports being very great they afterwards occupied the nearest Mediterranean port called Rhinocolura. Thither were taken overland all the articles to be reshipped to Tyre.<sup>641</sup> Dr. Royle<sup>642</sup> says "Long before the Persians had made themselves masters of Babylon (531 B. C.) the Phœnicians had established themselves for pearl-fishery and the Indian trade on the isles of Tylos and Aradus, the modern Bahrein islands in the Persian Gulf." The 27th chapter of the Ezekiel gives a list of the articles of Phœnician commerce brought from various countries. Among these "ivory and ebony could only have been procured in Dedan from India, for there were no elephants in Arabia."<sup>643</sup> According to Classical writers India was throughout famous for ivory and ebony.<sup>644</sup>

The fortunes of the Phœnicians soon roused in the neighbouring Jews a spirit of emulation. Under David and Solomon they were great friends of the Phœnicians under Hiram (980—917 B. C.) and this close friendship produced their combined commercial enterprise. This Jewish trade with India is proved by several allusions in the Bible itself. Thus we are told that Solomon founded a sea-port at Ezion-Geber in 992 B. C.<sup>645</sup> From Ezion-Geber the ships of Solomon sailed under the guidance of the mariners of Hiram for distant lands.<sup>646</sup> According to Professor Ball<sup>647</sup> some of the stones in the

<sup>640</sup> Ibid., VII. 6. 3. Cf. niggards in Rigveda, X. 60. 6.

<sup>641</sup> Robertson—Disquisition on Ancient India, 1792. pp. 7—8.

<sup>642</sup> Essay on the Antiquity of Hindu Medicine, p. 122.

<sup>643</sup> Historians' History of the World, Vol. II. pp. 336—37.

<sup>644</sup> Strabo XV. 37; Theophrastus quoted by McCrindle in his *India As Described By Classical Authors*, p. 430. Virgil, *Georgics* I. 57; "India Sends ivory" II. 116—17. Horace, *Odes*, "India alone produces black ebony, I. 31. The author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* also mentions logs of ebony being exported from Berygaza (Schoff's translation, p. 36.)

<sup>645</sup> Book of Kings, IX. 26.

<sup>646</sup> Ibid., IX. 27.

<sup>647</sup> "A Geologist's Contribution to the History of Ancient India" in the *Indian Antiquary* for August, 1884.

breast-plate of the high-priest in the Mosaic period (1491 B. C.—1450 B. C.) may have come from the far East and India was famous for precious stones. In the days of Solomon (1015 B. C.) there could be supplied from India alone ivory, garments, armour, spices and peacocks. The evidence of Dravidian words<sup>648</sup> in the Hebrew text of the Book of the Kings and Chronicles of the Old Testament shows that Indians, specially those of the South carried on their commercial relations with the Hebrew people and the words concerned formed the chief articles of trade between them. Thus the Hebrew word for peacock in the Book of kings in Tuki and in Chronicles also is Tuki, while the old poetic Tamil Malayalam word for peacock is Tokei.<sup>649</sup> Again Hebrew ahalim or apaloth which means fragrant wood and is otherwise known as aloes in the Proverbs<sup>650</sup> is derived from the Tamil Malayalam form of the word aghil. Similarly, almug = Tamil Valgu.<sup>651</sup> From these evidences we find that Rev. T. Foulkes is right when he says "The fact is now scarcely to be doubted that the rich oriental merchandise of the days of king Hiram and king Solomon had its starting place in the sea ports of the Deccan."<sup>652</sup> Dr. Caldwell has come to the same conclusion and says "It seems probable that Aryan merchants from the mouth of the Indus must have accompanied the Phœnicians and Solomon's servants in their voyages down the Malabar coast towards Ophir (wherever Ophir may have been) or at least have taken part in the trade."<sup>653</sup> The Jewish trade with India lasted a little over a century, for, when the fleet of Jehoshaphat, fifth in descent from Solomon which had started on a voyage to Tarshish, was destroyed, the Jewish commercial spirit cooled down.

We have seen how commerce between Egypt and India began from a very remote antiquity. "The labours of Von Bohlman,<sup>654</sup> confirming those of Heeren and in their turn confirmed by those of Lassen<sup>655</sup> have estab-

<sup>648</sup> Caldwell—A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages.

<sup>649</sup> The Bavaru Jātaka also refers to peacocks as Indian exports to Babylon.

<sup>650</sup> VII. 17.

<sup>651</sup> Cf. Hebrew koph, meaning ape = Sanskrit kapi.

<sup>652</sup> Indian Antiquary Vol. VIII.

<sup>653</sup> Caldwell—A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, p. 122.

<sup>654</sup> Das Alte Indien Vol. I. p. 42.

<sup>655</sup> Ind. Alt., Vol. II. p. 580.



lished the existence of a maritime commerce between India and Arabia from the very earliest period of humanity.”<sup>656</sup> Professor Max Duncker<sup>657</sup> says “Trade existed between the Indians and the Sabœens on the coast of South Arabia before the tenth century B. C.” The bas-reliefs of the temple of Deir-el-Bahari at Thebes in Egypt which represents the conquest of the land of Pun under Hatasu contain a picture in which is described the booty which the Pharoah is carrying to Egypt. And in this booty, according to Leormant, “appear a great many Indian animals and products not indigenous to Yemen — elephant’s teeth, gold, precious stones, sandalwood and monkeys.”<sup>658</sup>

But the question of the navigation of the Persian Gulf is still shrouded in mystery as well as that of the Alpha and Omega of all early communications between India and the land of Sumer and Akkad. It is inconceivable that the earliest civilisation of Chaldœ had not engaged in navigation on the “sea of the East.” Though no direct evidences regarding this is forthcoming, still we may point out that the great prosperity of Elam and its sturdy resistance first to Chaldœ and then to Assyria may be partly explained by the wealth she acquired in trade with the countries on its eastern frontier ; for, we know that she had a fleet manned with Phœnician crew at the mouth of the Tigris and the Euphrates.

Dr. Sayce in his Hibbert Lectures for 1887 on the origin and growth of religion among the Babylonians have proved the existence of commerce between India and Babylon as early as 3000 B. C. Rassam has discovered Indian cedar in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar and Indian teak in the temple of the moon-god at Ur refounded by Nebonidus and he is supported by Hewitt who says that this wood must have been sent by sea from some port on the Malabar coast, for, it is only there that teak grew near enough to the sea, to be exported with profit in those early days<sup>659</sup> Dr. Sayce points to the use of the word Sindhu for muslin in an old Babylonian list

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<sup>656</sup> Hist. Anc. del Orient, Eng. edition, II. pp. 299—301, Quoted in Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIII. p. 228.

<sup>657</sup> History of Antiquity, Vol. IV. p. 156.

<sup>658</sup> Hist. Anc. del Orient, Eng. edition, II. p. 299.

<sup>659</sup> L. R. A. S., 1888, p. 337.

of clothes as the clearest proof "that there was trade between the Babylonians and the people who spoke an Aryan dialect and lived in the country watered by the Indus." And if in the Persian time in the fuller light of history the Aramic script wandered to India, such an event may equally have happened in an earlier millenia. The earliest Indian weights and measures<sup>660</sup> may be traced to Babylonian origin. Further, the division of the sky into twenty-four Nakṣatras and the naming of seven days in the week after the Sun, Moon and five other planets may be traced to Babylonian origin. But as these are mentioned in later astronomical works, they are thought to be borrowed directly from Alexandria.<sup>661</sup> Mr. S. Kṛṣṇa Swāmi Iyenger, however, supports the Babylonian origin.<sup>662</sup> The discovery of the records of the settlement of some branches of the Aryan race in Syria and Sumer worshipping some of the oldest gods of the Vedic pantheon,<sup>663</sup> the recurrence of the Babylonian legend of the Flood among the Indians — all point to the existence of an intercourse between India and the land of Sumer and Akkad.<sup>664</sup>

This foreign trade could be carried along the three routes suggested by M. D. Anville. The first climbs up the precipitous and zigzag passes of the Zagros range which the Greeks called the Ladders into the treeless regions of Persia. The second traverses the mountains of Armenia to the Caspian Sea and Oxus and descends into Indus by the passes of the Hindukush. Lastly, there is the sea. Of these, the overland routes were not impracticable; in fact, the desert steppes of Asia formed the merchant-tile ocean of the ancients — the companies of camels their fleet. But the commerce was from hand to hand, from tribe to tribe, fitful and uncertain and never possessed any importance. Similarly, the normal trade-route from the Persian Gulf to India could never have been along the inhospitable

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<sup>660</sup> Mānā hiranya of Rīgveda VIII. 72. 8.

<sup>661</sup> Rawlinson—India and the Western World, p. 15.

<sup>662</sup> Beginnings of South Indian History, pp. 327, 329.

<sup>663</sup> Vide the accounts of the Mitanni and of the Kassites in Hall's Ancient History of the Near East, pp. 201—30.

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deserts of Gedrosia. Doubtless then more than one adventurous vessel reached India by hugging the shores. But the exploring expeditions despatched in later times by Darius (512 B. C.) from the mouth of the Indus under Skylax of Karayandra and two centuries later by Alexander the Great under Nearchos show the difficulties and dangers of this route, the time it occupied and the ignorance of the pilots. The author of the *Periplus*, it is true, says that small ships made formerly voyages to India, coasting along the shores until Hippalus first ventured to cross the Ocean by observing the monsoon.<sup>665</sup> But we know from other sources that the monsoon was known from the earliest times to all who sailed along the Arabian and African coasts; and direct sea-voyages were attempted only at the commencement of the monsoon.<sup>666</sup> The route for the direct sea-trade ran down the Persian and Arabian coasts to Aden, up the Red Sea to Suez, and from Suez to Egypt on the one hand and Tyre and Sidon on the other. Balkh, Aden and Palmyra were the chief halting stations and emporia of this trade.

Now was there any *combination between merchants* in this period? The Vedic expression *pani*<sup>667</sup> has been differently interpreted by different scholars.<sup>668</sup> The St. Petersburg Dictionary derives it from *pan*, to barter and explains it as merchant. Zimmer<sup>669</sup> and Ludwig<sup>670</sup> also takes it in the sense of a merchant. Now the gods are asked to attack the *panis* who are referred to as being defeated with slaughter.<sup>671</sup> Ludwig thinks that these references to fights with *Panīs* are to be explained by their having been non-Aryan traders who went in caravans as in Arabia and North Africa, prepared to fight, if need be, to protect their goods against attacks which the Aryans would naturally deem quite justified. If we accept this

\*\*\* The *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (Schoff's Eng. Trans.) p. 45.

\*\*\* Monsoon - Arabic *Mausim*.

\*\*\* *Rigveda* I. 32. 11; I. 83. 4; I. 93. 4; I. 151. 9; II. 24. 6; IV. 58. 4; VI. 13. 3; VI. 20. 4; VI. 33. 2; VI. 39. 2; VI. 44. 22; VI. 45. 31; VI. 51. 14; VII. 9. 2; IX. 111. 2; X. 108. 2; X. 108. 4; X. 108. 6; X. 108. 10; X. 108. 11.

\*\*\* Macdonell and Keith—*Vedic Index*, I. p. 471.

\*\*\* *Alt Leben*, p. 257.

\*\*\* *Der Rig Veda*, III. 213—15.

\*\*\* Macdonell and Keith—*Vedic Index*, I. 471.

meaning, we presume a corporation of merchants strong enough to defy their opponents and carry on fight against them.

Again in the Rigveda<sup>672</sup> the army of the Maruts is said to be divided into Gaṇas and Vrātas, the two words always meaning guilds or corporate unions in later Sanskrit. Further, in connection with dice-play we hear of leaders of Gaṇas and Vrātas.<sup>673</sup> But our information about these corporate unions is so scanty that we know nothing about their nature, organisation and methods of work.

**Methods and media of Exchange**—The great volume of trade would necessarily presuppose the existence of an excellent system of exchange. But the general view held was that “in the Vedic Age all exchange was by barter.”<sup>674</sup> But we have seen that by the time of the Rigveda the cow formed a standard or unit of value. Thus there is a hymn<sup>675</sup> where Indra, that is, his image is offered as a fetish for ten cows and another<sup>676</sup> where Indra is considered to be so valuable that not a hundred, a thousand or even a myriad of cows is thought to be a proper price. Besides cattle as a standard of exchange we find references to Niṣka, a word which in later Sanskrit means a gold coin. In one hymn<sup>677</sup> a poet-priest praises the munificence of his patron-king for giving him as reward for his priestly services a hundred steeds and a hundred niṣkas. Now what does the word niṣka mean here? No doubt we have passages in the Rigveda which certainly point to the use of niṣka as an ornament. Thus in one passage<sup>678</sup> we are told of sacrificers wearing niṣkas on their necks (niṣkagrīvo). In another<sup>679</sup> the god Rūdra is described as wearing niṣkas. In another<sup>680</sup> goddess Uṣas is invoked to take away the evils of bad dreams from those who wear niṣkas. But in Rigveda I. 126. 2 where the poet-priest mentions a gift of 100 niṣkas, the meaning necklace would hardly be appropriate; for, a man cannot require a hundred necklaces to adorn himself. In regard

\*\*\* V. 53. 1.

\*\*\* Mrs. Rhys Davids in J. R. E. S., 1910.

\*\*\* Rigveda IV. 24. 10.

\*\*\* Ibid., I. 126. 2.

\*\*\* Ibid., II. 33. 10.

\*\*\* Rigveda, X. 34.

\*\*\* Ibid., VIII. 1. 5.

\*\*\* Ibid., V. 19. 3.

\*\*\* Ibid., VIII. 47. 15.

to this passage the authors of the Vedic Index<sup>681</sup> rightly observes "As early as the Rigveda traces are to be seen of niṣkas as a sort of currency. For a singer celebrates the receipt of a hundred niṣkas and a hundred steeds. He could hardly require the niṣkas merely for personal adornment."

But was the niṣka a coin ? This may be solved, as has been pointed out by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar by reference to hymn No. 33 of the second Maṇḍala of the Rigveda. Here the god Rūdra is described as wearing "niṣkam viśwarūpam." Now what can viśwarūpa mean ? Does it signify omniform ? If so, what is meant by saying that Rūdra's necklace was omniform. Before we try to arrive at a natural and plausible meaning of the term we must consider how the word niṣka could come to signify both a currency and a necklace. A little reflection tells us that this is possible only if we suppose that niṣka means not simply a currency but a coin, that niṣka denoted necklace because it consisted of niṣkas, the coins. In many parts of India people even to-day wear necklaces of gold mohars. In Maṭṛāstra people even to-day get a goldsmith to cast gold coins in imitation of certain Byzantine originals which they call Putalyā which are afterwards strung into a necklace called Putalyā. This custom of making necklaces out of coins is not of modern origin but was also prevalent in Ancient India. Thus the Kalpasūtra while describing the goddess Śrī whom Trisūla, the mother of Mahāvīra saw in her dream, speaks of the former as bearing uratthadīnāra-mūlya i.e., a string of dīnāras (the Roman denarius) on her breast. Niṣka must, therefore, been taken in the sense of a coin and not merely a metallic currency. If this explanation is accepted, then a good sense of the term viśwarūpa is possible to fix upon. The rūpa in viśwarūpa can at once be recognised to be a word technical to the old Indian Science of Numismatics and denoting the symbol or figure on a coin which for that reason is called rūpa. Thus the necklace worn by Rūdra was composed of niṣka coins ; and just because these niṣka coins bore various rūpas or figures on them, the necklace was naturally viśwarūpa. The earliest of coins found in India are the punch-marked

coins and we know that no less than three hundred different devices or rūpas have been marked on them.

Manā was the name of another metallic money. It occurs in the following verse<sup>682</sup> "O Indra, bring us jewels, cattle, horses and manās of gold." The word manā is derived from the root man, to measure or man, to prize or value and therefore may well have been a metallic money of some fixed and recognised weight or value. This probably reached the valley of the Euphrates through the Phoenician traders where it became the Akkadian minā.

Unstamped metallic money of another kind was also known in this period. In one hymn<sup>683</sup> we find mention of a gift of daśa hiranya-piṇḍa. As these hiranya-piṇḍas have been specifically mentioned as ten, it appears that each hiranya-piṇḍa conformed to a definite recognised weight or value. We need not be surprised at the existence of both stamped and unstamped money circulating in one and the same period. Even to this day the Dhābuas which are unstamped copper money circulate freely in the Nepalese Terai along with stamped coins of various denominations.

The existence of a metallic medium of exchange in general acceptance may be proved by other evidences. Thus in one hymn<sup>684</sup> we read of a gift of 10,000 pieces ; another hymn<sup>685</sup> mentions the gift of 100 pieces ; another hymn<sup>686</sup> refers to the gift of a hundred and a thousand pieces. These gifts of so many pieces do undoubtedly refer to some definite standard in general acceptance, since without such a standard in general acceptance, we can hardly expect the mention of mere numbers without any further specification. Professor Wilson, therefore, in his note on Rigveda V. 27. 2 rightly observes "It is not improbable, however, that pieces of money are intended ; for, if we may trust Arrian, the Hindus had coined money before Alexander."

**The general economic condition of the classes and the masses—In a system of private ownership of land and capital economic inequalities are**

<sup>682</sup> Rigveda, VIII. 78. 2.

<sup>683</sup> Rigveda, VI. 47. 23.

<sup>684</sup> Ibid., V. 27. 2.

<sup>685</sup> Ibid., V. 27. 1.

<sup>686</sup> Ibid., VIII. 6. 46—7.



bound to exist and Rigvedic society was no exception to this general rule. The tendency towards the accumulation of capital in a few hands was helped partly by the development of domestic and foreign trade and partly by the existence of freedom of disposal of property specially for satisfying debts to creditors as the evidence of Rigveda X. 34 shows. The Rigveda mentions the Mahākulas<sup>687</sup> and the Maghavans<sup>688</sup> who were distinguished for their wealth and liberality. The princes and kings who stood on a higher level than the Mahākulas and the Māghavans are represented as more wealthy and liberal. Thus Svanaya, son of Bhāva gave Kāksivān a hundred nīskas, one thousand cows, ten chariots, with mares to draw them and sixty thousand cattle.<sup>689</sup> The Rusamas gave away four thousand cattle.<sup>690</sup> Prastoka (otherwise known as Divodāsa or Atithigva) gave away ten coffers, ten mettled horses, ten treasure-chests, ten garments, ten hiraṇyapīṇḍas, ten chariots with extra steed to each and one hundred cows.<sup>691</sup> Sudas, descendant of Pijavana gave away two hundred cows, two chariots with mares to draw them and four trained horses with pearl to deck them.<sup>692</sup> Āsanga gave ten thousand pieces together with ten bright-hued oxen.<sup>693</sup> Āsanga's son Svanadratha gave away two brown steeds together with their cloths of gold.<sup>694</sup> Vibhindu gave Medhyatithi forty-eight thousand pieces.<sup>695</sup> Pākasthāman Kaurayān gave away a ruddy horse.<sup>696</sup> Prince Kurunga gave away one hundred steeds and sixty-thousand cows.<sup>697</sup> Kasu, son of Chedi gave away one hundred buffaloes and ten thousand cattle.<sup>698</sup> Tirindira, son of Parsu, gave away one lac cows.<sup>699</sup> The Yādavas gave to Pajra ten thousand cattle and steeds three times a hundred.<sup>700</sup> Trasadasya made a gift of fifty female slaves.<sup>701</sup>

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<sup>687</sup> Rigveda, I. 31. 12 ; II. 6. 4 ; V. 39. 4.

<sup>688</sup> Ibid., I. 55. 4 ; V. 79. 4 ; VIII. 7. 21 ; VIII. Vālakhilya hymn No. 9. 3 ; X. 107. 4.

<sup>689</sup> Ibid., I. 126. 2—3.

<sup>690</sup> Rigveda, V. 30. 15.

<sup>691</sup> Ibid., VII. 18. 22—3.

<sup>692</sup> Ibid., VIII. 1. 32.

<sup>693</sup> Ibid., VIII. 3. 22—3.

<sup>694</sup> Ibid., VIII. 5. 37.

<sup>695</sup> Ibid., VIII. 6. 47.

<sup>696</sup> Ibid., VI. 47. 22.

<sup>697</sup> Ibid., VIII. 1. 33.

<sup>698</sup> Ibid., VIII. 2. 41.

<sup>699</sup> Ibid., VIII. 4. 19—20.

<sup>700</sup> Ibid., VIII. 6. 46.

<sup>701</sup> Ibid., VIII. 19. 34.

King Chitra "like Parjanya with his rain hath spread himself with thousand, yea, myriad gifts."<sup>702</sup> Prithusravas, son of Kanita, gave away sixty thousand steeds, ten thousand cattle and two thousand camels<sup>703</sup> besides a chatiot wrought of gold.<sup>704</sup> Even Bṛbu, the Paṇi chief is described as the giver of a thousand liberal gifts.<sup>705</sup> The munificence of the rich patrons may be appreciated from the famous hymn on Dakṣiṇā which praises in glowing terms the givers of horses, cattle, clothes and gold.<sup>706</sup>

Side by side with these richer classes we find peoples in debt which was contracted for various purposes, gambling being one of them.<sup>707</sup> The Paṇis are described as "usurers who counted the days for calculating interest."<sup>708</sup> Debtors like other male factors were sometimes bound by their creditors to posts<sup>709</sup> presumably as a means of putting pressure on them to pay up the debt. Everything was exacted, even the dwelling houses were sold and the debtors became homeless and destitute.<sup>710</sup> Sometimes they were reduced to slavery and their relations renounced them.<sup>711</sup> The amount of interest payable is impossible to make out. In one passage<sup>712</sup> an eighth (Śapha) and a sixteenth (Kalā) are mentioned as paid, but it is quite uncertain whether interest or an instalment of the principal is meant. Some were born in debt and were under a moral and legal obligation to pay off the debt of their ancestors as the following passage<sup>713</sup> will prove : "Discharge, O Varuṇa, the debts (contracted) by my progenitors and those now (contracted) by me ; and may I not, royal Varuṇa be dependent (on the debts contracted) by another. Many are the mornings that have, as it there, not dawned ; make us, Varuṇa, alive in them." Mr. Wilson observes "According to Sāyana, this means that persons, involved in debt are so overcome with anxiety that they are not conscious of the dawn of the day ; to them the morning has not dawned ; they are dead to the light of day. The passage is deserving of notice, indicating an advanced as well

<sup>702</sup> Ibid., VIII. 21. 18.

<sup>703</sup> Ibid., VIII. 46. 22.

<sup>704</sup> Ibid., VI. 45. 33,

<sup>705</sup> Ibid., X. 34. 10.

<sup>706</sup> Ibid., X. 34. 4.

<sup>707</sup> Ibid., X. 34. 4.

<sup>708</sup> Ibid., II. 28. 9.

<sup>709</sup> Ibid., VIII. 46. 24.

<sup>710</sup> Ibid., X. 107.

<sup>711</sup> Ibid., VIII. 66. 10.

<sup>712</sup> Ibid., X. 34. 10.

<sup>713</sup> Ibid., VIII. 47. 17.

as a corrupt state of society, the occurrence of debt, and severity of its pressure."

Economic pressure, however, became severest, when crops failed ; and it is worthy of note that despite the care for irrigation, famines were not unknown. Sasarparī is said to have dispelled famine.<sup>714</sup> Fervent prayers were offered to drive away famine from the country :—

"Drive far from us poverty and famine,  
(O sacrificial post)"<sup>715</sup>

"Receive from us the arrow, keep famine,  
O Ādityas, far away"<sup>716</sup>

"O Much-invoked Indra, may we subdue all famine  
and evil want with store of grain and cattle."<sup>717</sup>

Indeed we read of "the needy who come in begging for bread to eat"<sup>718</sup> "of the begger who comes in want of food"<sup>719</sup> and "of the friend and comrade who comes imploring food."<sup>720</sup> Hence great emphasis was laid on the virtues of hospitality<sup>721</sup> and liberality,<sup>722</sup> and the niggardly misers were cried down.<sup>723</sup> Society expected the rich man to alleviate the distress of the needy as he himself may need the same assistance one day :

"Let the rich satisfy the poor implorer, and  
bend his eye upon a longer journey.  
Riches come now to one, now to another,  
and like the wheels of cars are ever rolling."<sup>724</sup>

<sup>714</sup> Ibid., III. 53. 15.

<sup>716</sup> Ibid., VIII. 18. 11.

<sup>718</sup> Ibid., X. 117. 3.

<sup>720</sup> Ibid., X. 117. 5.

<sup>722</sup> Ibid., X. 107.

<sup>724</sup> Ibid., X. 117. 5.

<sup>715</sup> Ibid., III. 8. 2.

<sup>717</sup> Ibid., X. 42. 10.

<sup>719</sup> Ibid., X. 117. 4.

<sup>721</sup> Ibid., X. 117.

<sup>723</sup> Ibid., IX. 63. 5.

## CHAPTER V.

### Brahmana Period.

(— 600 B. C.)

Definitely later than that depicted in the Rîgveda is the civilisation presented by the later Saṃhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads. The story of the Rāmāyaṇa may have its origin in the later Brāhmaṇa period<sup>725</sup> and the epic was composed according to Professor Macdonell<sup>726</sup> before 500 B. C. In the period of the Rîgveda, the centre of civilisation was tending to be localised in the land between the Saraswatī and the Dṣalbatī rivers; but in the Brāhmaṇa period, as the period under review may conveniently be called, the localisation of civilisation in the more eastern part of the country is achieved. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa a geographical passage ascribes the Middle Country to the later Madhya-deśa, the Kurus and Pāncāls with the Vasas and Usināras, to the south the Satvats and to the north beyond the Hîmalayas, the Uttara-Kurus and the Uttara-Madras. On the other hand, while the west recedes in importance, the regions, east of the Kuru-Pāncāl country come into prominence, specially Kośāla, corresponding roughly to modern Oaulh, and Videha, the modern Tirhut or N. Bihar and Mîgalha, the modern South Bihar. In the south we hear of non-Aryan tribes like the Andhras, Pulindas, Pundras, Mutibas, Sabaras and the Naiṣadas.

*Notes*—In keeping with this wider geographical outlook, the Brāhmaṇa period is marked by a greater knowledge of towns. The White Yajur Veda<sup>727</sup> refers to Kāmpîla which the commentator takes to be Kāmpîlya, the Pāncālā capital. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa we come across the names of two cities, namely, Āsandhivat,<sup>728</sup> probably the capital

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<sup>725</sup> Rapson—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I., p. 317.

<sup>726</sup> History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 309.

<sup>727</sup> XXIII. 18.

<sup>728</sup> S. B. E. Vol. XLIV. p. 336.

of King Janmejaya and Parivakra,<sup>729</sup> the capital of the Panchāla Kings. The word nagara meaning a town frequently occurs in Brāhmaṇa literature as also the epithet nagarin. The Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa describes Janaśruteya as a nagarin. We also find epithets like Kauśamveya, Kauśalya and Vaidarva, derived from place-names which gradually grew into towns.

*Land-system*—The land was divided as in the previous period, into vāstu, arable land, pastures and forests. The vāstu as before was in private ownership. In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad<sup>730</sup> houses are cited as instances of private wealth. The arable land was also in private ownership. In the Black Yajur Veda<sup>731</sup> we read "He should make an offering to Indra and Agni on eleven postherds who has a dispute about a field or with his neighbours." "It is" says from Prof. Keith "a clear evidence of separate ownership of land."<sup>732</sup> In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad<sup>733</sup> we find fields along with houses cited as instances of private wealth. The pastures and the forests were enjoyed in common. Though this Right of Common or Estover was later on much circumscribed by the establishment of a highly centralised government, such as, under Chandragupta Maurya, the Brahmins or the learned nevertheless exercised the right of collecting fuel and other materials for religious purposes throughout ages. The Varana Jātaka,<sup>734</sup> for example, tells us that five hundred pupils of a teacher of Takṣaśīlā set out for the forest to gather firewood for their teacher and busied themselves in gathering sticks. The Agni Purāṇa<sup>735</sup> lays down that a Brahmin exercises everywhere the right of collecting grass, fuel and flowers. Yājñabalkya<sup>736</sup> is also of the view. It is well-known that the Āraṇyaka part of the Vedic literature was required to be read in the forests.

With the evidences at our disposal, it is difficult to decide whether the land belonged to the head of the family or to the members of joint families in common. The story told in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa of Viśwāmitra

<sup>729</sup> Ibid., p. 397.

<sup>730</sup> VII. 24. 2.

<sup>731</sup> II. 2. 1.

<sup>732</sup> Keith—Veda of Black Yajus School, p. 147. fn. 1. Compare Vedic Index, I. 210, 211.

<sup>733</sup> VII 24. 2 (Kṣetrāpi āyatanāni).

<sup>734</sup> No. 71.

<sup>735</sup> Chapter CCLVII, 17.

<sup>736</sup> II. 169.

who outcasted and expelled his fifty sons as also of the sale of Śunaḥśepa by his father Ajigarta in lieu of one hundred cows prove the autocratic authority of the head of the family. It is, however, doubtful as to whether these are instances which give us the real state of affairs or were arbitrary exercises of authority. Indeed we have evidences to prove the joint ownership of property. Not only do we find repeated mention of Sajāta and Samāna, meaning clansmen or men of the same family but in one hymn<sup>737</sup> we find prayers to the gods for unity of the family :—

“Freedom from hate I bring to you, concord  
and unanimity.

Love one another as the cow loveth the  
calf that she hath borne.

One-minded with his mother let the son  
be loyal to his sire.

Let the wife, calm and gentle, speak  
words sweet as honey to her lord.

No brother hate his brother, no sister to  
sister be unkind.

Unanimous, with out intent, speak ye  
your speech in friendliness.

\* \* \* \* \*

Let what you drink, your share of food  
be common : together with one common bond I bid you.  
Serve Agni, gathered round him like spokes  
about the chariot nave.

In the Black Yajur Veda<sup>738</sup> we read “The fore-sacrifices are the father, the after-sacrifices the son in that having offered the fore-sacrifices he sprinkles the oblations, the father makes common property with the son.” Mr. Keith<sup>739</sup> observes “The commentator takes this as referring to the fact that the son’s earnings are his own, the father shares them with the family,

<sup>737</sup> Atharva-veda, III. 30.

<sup>738</sup> II. 6. 1.

<sup>739</sup> Veda of the Black Yajus School, p. 206, fn. 2.

and this seems correct. Śrīyāna also notes that the son keeps his secretly i.e., perhaps his ownership was *precarious*, not of right; the parallel to Roman law is striking and justifies us in accepting the view of the commentator." Elsewhere in the Black Yajur Veda<sup>740</sup> we read "Manu divided his property among his sons. He deprived Nābhīmedīṣṭha, who was a student, of any portion. He went to him, and said, 'How hast thou deprived me of a portion?' He replied, 'I have not deprived you of a portion; the Aṅgīrasas here are performing a Sattrā; they cannot discern the world of heaven; declare this Brāhmaṇa to them; when they go to the world of heaven they will give thee their cattle.' He told them it, and they when going to the world of heaven gave him their cattle. Rudra approached him as he went about with his cattle in the place of sacrifice, and said 'These are my cattle.' He replied 'They have given them to me.' 'They have not the power to do that' replied he, 'whatever is left on the place of sacrifice is mine.' Then one should not resort to a place of sacrifice. He said 'Give me a share in the sacrifice, and I will not have designs against your cattle.' He poured out for him the remnants of the mixed (Soma). Then indeed had Rudra no designs against his cattle."<sup>741</sup> This story which also occurs in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa<sup>742</sup> shows undoubtedly that even during the life-time of the father, sons were regarded as having a vested interest in property, from which they could not be excluded at will. In the mythology of the Brāhmaṇa period we find that the children of the Father God v.z., gods and devils fight for their respective shares and "enter into their inheritance" by dividing it. In another mythology we find a man who has no son, dividing his property between his two wives. We find the gift of a field; of whole villages; of all the king's lands to a priest; and when thus given, the land cannot be alienated. If the king should at another time, give all his land to another, that piece which he has formerly given to the first priest, is not included in the later donation.

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<sup>740</sup> III. 1. 9.

<sup>741</sup> Compare MS. I. 5. 8, and for the substance see Vedic Index, I. 352. For Manu cf. Lévi, *Ladoctrine du sacrifice*, pp. 115 seq.; Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 138.

<sup>742</sup> V. 14.

But though the gift of lands specially to Brahm̐ns who officiated in sacrifices<sup>743</sup> was quite common there was a decided feeling against land-transfer in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.<sup>744</sup> From another passage of the same book<sup>745</sup> we learn that Kṣatriya clansmen apportioned land given to them by a (Kṣatriya) king with the mutual consent of all. Later on when we come to the Chāndogya Upaniṣad<sup>746</sup> we find that houses and fields were regarded as objects of private ownership and easily transferable.

It is difficult to decide as to whether the king was regarded as the owner of the land in this period. We are told in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa<sup>747</sup> that a priest's function is to take gifts, while the Vaiśya's peculiar function is to be devoured by the priest and nobleman. From this it is apparent that the Vaiśya cannot have any secure hold over his landed property. In one of the Upaniṣads it is said that the vital breath commands the other breaths just as a Samrāj commissions his officers saying, 'Be thou over these villages or those villages.' The statement of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,<sup>748</sup> namely, that every one here is fit to be eaten up by the king except the Brahmin, is not of much significance, since it only embodies in a nutshell the view that the royal contributions from the subjects which were at first probably fitful in their character, had by this time become a general burden devolving upon nearly all classes of people. Of greater importance is the passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, referred to above, declaring the Vaiśya from the point of view of the kṣatriya 'to be tributary to another, to be lived on by another, to be oppressed at will.' These striking phrases together with the epithet frequently applied in the Brāhmaṇas to the king, namely that he is the devourer of his people doubtless signify that the king's claim of taxing his subjects was limited only by his sweet free will, but there is nothing in them to indicate the king's ownership of the soil as distinct from his political superiority.<sup>749</sup> Indeed it is clearly stated in

<sup>743</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XIII. 6. 2. 8; XIII. 7. 1. 13 and 15.

<sup>744</sup> XIII.

<sup>745</sup> Ibid., VII 1 1 4.

<sup>746</sup> VII. 24. 2.

<sup>747</sup> VII. 23, with Keith's translation in the Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 128.

<sup>748</sup> V. 3, 3, 12; Ibid., 4, 2, 3.

<sup>749</sup> Compare Vedic Index, S.V. Rājan, rejecting the view of Hopkins, *Op. cit.*, p. 222.



the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>750</sup> that to whomsoever the kṣatriya with the approval of the people or clan (viś) grants a settlement, that is properly given. This evidently refers to the public land of the folk and it seems to mean that while the king's gift of such land with the consent of the people was in accordance with the tribal or customary law, it was sometimes arbitrarily disposed of by the sole authority of the ruler. It is possible that originally in the Rigvedic period the king could deal with the public land only with the sanction of the tribal assembly, but afterwards during the times of the later Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas the advance of the king's power had resulted in such land being looked upon as lying to some extent at the disposal of the Crown. The natural consequence of such development would be eventually to reduce the public lands to the condition of the king's private estates. But this step which seems to have been completed by the time of the Arthasāstra was not reached in the period of the Brāhmaṇas.<sup>751</sup> Indeed the prayer in the Atharvaveda<sup>752</sup> for the grant of a share in villages to the king shows that the people granted him some land for the maintenance of his authority and dignity : there could have been hardly any room for this prayer if he was already the master of the soil. Professor Keith rightly observes "There can be no doubt that he (the king) controlled the land of the tribe. It is not, however, necessary to ascribe to this period the conception of the royal ownership of all the land, though it appears in the Greek source from the time of Megasthenes downwards and is evidenced later by law-books of the time. He had, it is true, the right to expel a Brahmin and a Vaiśya at will, though we do not know expressly that he could do this in the case of a Kṣatriya. But these considerations point to political superiority rather than to ownership proper and we may assume that when

<sup>750</sup> VIII. 1. 73, 4.

<sup>751</sup> According to the Vedic Index, s. v. Grāma, the king's right to apportion the land with the consent of the clan (as mentioned e.g., in the text of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa quoted above) contains the germ of the later State ownership of the soil. It is difficult to support this view, since the king's right of apportionment just mentioned is apparently concerned with the disposal of the public land as distinguished from the land held in private ownership by the freemen.

<sup>752</sup> IV. 22. 2.

he gave grants of land to his retainers, he granted not ownership but privileges such as the right to receive dues and maintenance from the cultivators. There is a clear distinction between this action and the conferring of ownership, and it may be doubted if the actual gift of land was approved in this epoch. The only case of which we hear is one reported in the Śatapatha and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas in which the King Viśwakarma Bhauvana gave land to the priests who sacrificed for him but the earth itself rebuked his action. It is more probable that at this time, the allotment of land was determined by the king or by the noble to whom he had granted the rights of superiority according to customary law and that gifts not in accordance with this customary law were disapproved. It is hardly necessary to point out the close similarity between such a state of affairs and that existing at the present day in parts of West Africa, where kings have introduced for purposes of personal gain the practice of dealing as absolute owners with lands which according to the strict custom of tribal law they have no power to allocate save in accordance with the custom of the tribe. Nor is it inconsistent with the view that the king had an arbitrary power of removing a subject from his land. That power flowed from his sovereignty and though disapproved, was acquiesced in, we may presume, just as in West Africa ; while the dealing of kings with lands by way of absolute ownership was regarded as a complete breach of the tribal law, the actual removal from his land, of any individual was recognised as a royal prerogative, even if the power was misused."<sup>753</sup>

As to the king's revenue we have the following passage in the Atharvaveda :

“Emaṃ bhaja grāme aśveṣu goṣu niṣṭhaṃ  
bhaja yo amitro asya.”<sup>754</sup>

“Give him a share in village, kine and horses and leave  
his enemy without a portion, (O Indra).”

The king's share is called 'bali' in the Vedic Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas which is also used to denote the tribute paid by the conquered enemies and

<sup>753</sup> Rapson—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. pp. 132—33.

<sup>754</sup> Atharvaveda IV. 22. 2.

offerings made to the gods.<sup>755</sup> Along with this is mentioned *hiraṇya* which as Professor U. N. Ghosal has suggested, means cash charge upon certain special classes of crops.<sup>756</sup> As to any fixed share of the produce being paid to the king, the evidence of the following passage of the Atharvaveda is significant :

“Yad rājāno bibhajanta iṣṭāpurttasya ṣoḍaśam  
Yamasyāmi sabhāsadaḥ”<sup>757</sup>

“When yonder kings who sit beside Yama divide  
among themselves the sixteenth part of hopes fulfilled.”

This passage occurs in a hymn whose subject is immunity from taxation in the next world to be purchased by the performance of a certain sacrifice on earth and may, therefore, well point to the royal share being assessed to a sixteenth part of the produce in those days.

The rise of a landed aristocracy, of men who stood as intermediaries between the king and the common cultivator is hinted at in several passages of the Black Yajur Veda. There we are told in connection with the performance of certain sacrifices by a person desirous of winning a village (*grāmakīma*) how the gods concerned ‘assign him creatures led by the noses’<sup>758</sup> how they ‘present his relatives to him and make the folk dependent on him’<sup>759</sup> and how they enable him to grasp the mind of his equals.<sup>760</sup> These significant expressions can only refer to the lordships of single villages either obtained through royal favour or acceptance by villagers or acquired in the first instance by individual exertion, but afterwards receiving the seal of royal confirmation. According to the authors of the Vedic Index what the king granted was his right of levying contributions and probably nothing more. In the other case the man attained nothing more than social pre-eminence in as much as it required the sanction of *sajītas* and *śunās*, and this shows that no

<sup>755</sup> Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, s. v. *hali*.

<sup>756</sup> U. N. Ghosal—Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System, pp. 59—62.

<sup>757</sup> Atharvaveda, III. 29. 1.

<sup>758</sup> Black Yajur Veda, II. 1. 1. 2.

<sup>759</sup> Ibid., II. 1. 3. 2.

<sup>760</sup> Ibid., II. 3. 9. 2.

real rights were parted with by the *sajātas* but were vested in him. When we come to later literature we find instances of gifts of villages by kings. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*<sup>761</sup> mentions the gift of a village by king *Janaśruti* to *Raikka*. In subsequent periods such gifts of villages were common and this contributed to the growth of the *Mahāsālas* whom we find in the *Upaniṣads* and in early Buddhist literature. The evidence of Buddhist literature shows, as we shall see later on, that the *Mahāsālas* enjoyed the revenue of villages and may be regarded as occupying the position of land-lords.

As regards the *law of inheritance* we have a passage even in the *Rigveda*<sup>762</sup> which according to *Sāyaṇa*'s interpretation appear to attribute, in a very obscure manner, to the customs or laws of succession to property among men. The passage reads thus :

“Wise, teaching, following thought of Order,  
the sonless gained a grandson from his daughter.  
Fain, as a sire, to see his child prolific, he sped  
to meet her with an eager spirit.  
The son left not his portion to the brother .....

The word *vāhniḥ*, which usually means an oblation-bearer, a sacrificer, a priest or one who is borne along as a god in a celestial car, is taken by *Sāyaṇa* to mean sonless, the father of a daughter only. The sonless father, according to *Sāyaṇa*, “stipulates that his daughter's son, his grandson, shall be his son, a mode of affiliation recognised by law ; and relying on an heir thus obtained, and one who can perform his funeral rites, he is satisfied.” *Sāyaṇa* interprets “The son left not his portion to the brother” thus : “a son born of the body does not transfer (paternal) wealth to a sister.”<sup>763</sup> We have two mythological accounts of father *Manu* (not as Law-giver but as Adam of the race) and of the division of his inheritance. One of them

<sup>761</sup> IV. 2. 4.

<sup>762</sup> III. 31. 1—2.

<sup>763</sup> Professor Wilson remarks “These two verses, if rightly interpreted, are wholly unconnected with the subject of the *Sūkta*, and come in without any apparent object : they are very obscure, and are only made somewhat intelligible by interpretations which seem to be arbitrary, and are very unusual, although not peculiar to *Sāyaṇa*, his explanation being based on those of *Yāska*.”

says "Manu divided his property among his sons ; one of them Nāvānediṣṭha by name living elsewhere as a student he excluded from a share."<sup>764</sup> The other account says "The brothers excluded from a share one of Manu's sons."<sup>765</sup> In both the accounts the property is divided in the father's life-time and the division was equal. In due course Nāvānediṣṭha demanded his share and his claim was accepted in principle, though many obstacles intervened in his regaining his lawful share. The story shows undoubtedly that even during the life-time of the father, son were regarded as having a vested interest in property, from which they could not be excluded at will. The Black Yajur Veda<sup>766</sup> speaks of a father making common property with a son. The commentator takes this as referring to the fact that the son's earnings are his own, the father shares them with the family and this seems correct. Sāyaṇa also notes that the son keeps his secretly, *i.e.*, perhaps his ownership was *precario*, not of right ; the parallel to Roman law is striking and justifies us in accepting the view of the commentator. In the mythology of the Brāhmaṇa period we find that the children of the Father God viz., gods and devils fight for their respective shares and "enter into their inheritance" by dividing it. The division of property among the sons was not always equal, the eldest often getting a little more than the others, probably even a double share of the wealth as is evident from the following passage of the Atharvaveda.<sup>767</sup>

"Agni, the banqueter on flesh, not banished,  
for the eldest son  
Taketh a double share of wealth and  
spoileth it with poverty."

The meaning of the passage seems to be, that if the rites are not duly performed the eldest son of the departed, though he receives a double share of the property, will be eventually ruined.

*Agriculture*—Progress was doubtless made in agriculture. The plough was large and heavy ; we hear of as many as six<sup>768</sup> or eight<sup>769</sup> or

<sup>764</sup> Black Yajur Veda, III. 1. 9.

<sup>765</sup> Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, V. 14.

<sup>766</sup> II. 6. 1.

<sup>767</sup> XII. 2. 35

<sup>768</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 91. 1 ; Black Yajur Veda, V. 2. 5.

<sup>769</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 91. 1.

twelve<sup>770</sup> oxen being harnessed to the plough. The plough was "of keen share, with well-polished handle."<sup>771</sup> The seasons bearing on agriculture are mentioned in the Black Yajur Veda. Thus barley ripen in the hot season, rice in autumn, beans and sesamum in winter and the cool season.<sup>772</sup> Further we learn that "twice in the year does the corn ripen."<sup>773</sup> According to the Kauṣitaki Brāhmaṇa<sup>774</sup> the winter crop was ripe by the month of Chaitra. The mention of a double crop shows a distinct advance in agriculture, which may be attributed partly to the larger use of manure and irrigation and partly to the knowledge of the cultivation of a larger variety of grains and plants which grew in different parts of the year. Indeed the advantages of a rotation of crops were fully realised. Thus a season of barley (yava) would be succeeded by one of rice (vrihi)<sup>775</sup> bean (mudga or māsha) and sesamum (tila). Besides these, other varieties of crops mentioned in the White Yajur Veda<sup>776</sup> were probably sown on the principle of rotation.<sup>777</sup>

The adoption of a system of rotation of crops, combined with the undeveloped state of intensive cultivation, apparently gave rise to what is known as the Field-grass system or Pasture or Two-field and Three-field systems. We may call this system of 'Khila' system of agriculture, for the

<sup>770</sup> Black Yajur Veda, V. 2. 5.

<sup>771</sup> Atharvaveda, III. 17. 3 = Black Yajur Veda, IV. 2. 5.

<sup>772</sup> Black Yajur Veda, VII. 2. 10.

<sup>773</sup> Ibid., V. 1. 7.

<sup>774</sup> XIX. 3.

<sup>775</sup> Compare Gobhila, I. 4. 29 and Khādīra, I. 5. 37 : "From the rice harvest till the barley (harvest) or from the barley (harvest) till the rice (harvest) he should offer the sacrifices."

<sup>776</sup> XVIII. 12.

<sup>777</sup> As the seasons of the Vedic Age did not exactly coincide with those of later times a short notice seems necessary here. In the Rigveda five seasons are mentioned viz., Vasanta (Spring), Grīṣma (Summer), Śarat (Autumn), Prāṇṛṣa (Rainy season) and the Hemanta or Hima (Winter). The Brāhmaṇas also mention these seasons. The Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra (IV. 18. 1) also mentions only five seasons of the year. A sixth season was recognised later on as the evidence of Kautilya's Arthaśāstra (Book II. Chapter 20) shows. See Tilak Aric Home in the Vedas, p. 183; Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, I. pp. 110—11; Zimmer—Altindisches Leben, pp. 373—74.

reason that land in those days appears to have been alternately cultivated and laid fallow (khila) to recover its fertility.<sup>778</sup> Under the Two-field system there were two plots of land, one remaining under cultivation in any particular year or season, and the other lying fallow after the last harvest. In alternate years or so the fallow lands, serving temporarily as pastures would be brought under cultivation. At a time when intensive cultivation was still in incipieney, this method would enable land to recover fertility easily. In very early times when the number of crops raised did not exceed one or two, the system was a simple one ; one plot of land would in a particular season remain under cultivation, say, of barley (yava) only while the other would remain fallow say, after the rice-harvest. But when the number of crops raised increased and the cultivator sowed and reaped more than two varieties in rotation,<sup>779</sup> the system followed must have been a Three-fold system, three or four varieties being raised in two of the fields every year and the third lying fallow once in every three years. The ideal system that would work, may be thus indicated : let A, B and C be the three fields ; then, in the first year, A would produce in rotation, say, Yava and Vrihi, B would similarly produce in rotation tila, māṣha, godhūma or maśura<sup>780</sup> and C would remain fallow ; in the second year, A would be cultivated intensively for one or two crops, B would remain fallow and C would produce two crops in rotation ; in the third year, A would lie fallow, B would produce one or two crops like A in the second year, and C would produce one or two crops like A in the first or the second year ..... if B produces one crop, C produces two and vice-versa.<sup>781</sup>

Some more details about agricultural operations are forthcoming. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>782</sup> mentions the operations of ploughing, sowing, reaping and threshing. The Atharvaveda<sup>783</sup> mentions the use of manure

<sup>778</sup> See Professor Kishori Mohan Gupta's article on "The Land system and Agriculture of the Vedic Age" in Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volume on Orientalia, Vol. III. Part II.

<sup>779</sup> White Yajur Veda, XVIII. 12 seems to refer to this.

<sup>780</sup> White Yajur Veda, XVIII. 12 ; Black Yajur Veda, VII. 2. 10. 2.

<sup>781</sup> Prof. K. M. Gupta — Land System in South India between 800 A. D. and 1200 A. D., pp. 197—99.

<sup>782</sup> I. 6. 1. 3.

<sup>783</sup> III. 14. 3.

(karisa, cow-dung). One of its hymns<sup>784</sup> was composed on the occasion of cutting a channel for irrigation or to avert a flood. Here the newly cut canal is described as a calf to the river which is the cow.<sup>785</sup> Well irrigation is thus described in the Black Yajur Veda.<sup>786</sup>

“Make firm the straps,  
Fasten the buckets ;  
We shall drain the well full of water,  
That never is exhausted, never faileth.<sup>787</sup>  
The well with buckets fastened,  
With strong straps, that yieldeth abundantly,  
Full of water, unexhausted, I drain.”<sup>788</sup>

The Kauśika Saṃhitā<sup>789</sup> also refers to canal irrigation and gives us the practical part of the ceremony of letting in the water. At first some gold plate is deposited on the bed, a frog with a blue and red thread round it, is made to sit on the gold plate and after this the frog is covered with an aquatic plant called Śeṣala and water is then let in.

As to the crops, the Atharvaveda mentions besides yava, sesamum,<sup>790</sup> vrihi<sup>791</sup> (as also tandula<sup>792</sup>). We also find the word śāriśākā<sup>793</sup> which Griffith has translated as cultivated rice.<sup>794</sup> The cultivation of sugarcane is also referred to in the Atharvaveda.<sup>795</sup> The White Yajur-veda mentions a large number of crops. Thus we read :

“Vrihayaścha me yavāścha me māśāścha me  
tilāścha me mudgāścha me khālvaścha me  
priyaṅgavaścha me navaścha me  
śyāmākāścha me nīvārāścha me godhumāścha  
me masuraścha me yajñena kalpyantām.”<sup>796</sup>

<sup>784</sup> III. 13.

<sup>785</sup> III. 13. 7.

<sup>786</sup> IV. 2. 5.

<sup>787</sup> Cf. Rigveda X. 101. 5 ; Kāthaka Saṃhitā XXXVIII. 14.

<sup>788</sup> Cf. Rigveda, X. 101. 6.

<sup>789</sup> XL. 3—6.

<sup>790</sup> II. 8. 3 ; XVIII. 3. 69.

<sup>791</sup> VI. 140. 2 ; VIII. 7. 20 ; IX. 6. 14 ; XII. 4. 18, 30, 32 ; cf. IV. 35.

<sup>792</sup> X. 9. 26.

<sup>793</sup> III. 14. 5.

<sup>794</sup> Griffith's Atharvaveda, Vol. I. p. 101, 101 fn.

<sup>795</sup> I. 34. 1, 5.

<sup>796</sup> XVIII. 12.



"May my rice-plants and my barley and my beans and my sesamum and my kidney-beans and my vetches and my millet and my *Panicum Milliaceum* and my *Panicum Frumentaccum* and my wild rice and my wheat and my lentils prosper by sacrifice."<sup>797</sup> Upavākas or Indra-yavas (seeds of the *Wrightia Antidysenterica*) are also mentioned in the White Yajurveda.<sup>798</sup> The Black Yajurveda mentions Yava,<sup>799</sup> rice,<sup>800</sup> beans<sup>801</sup> and sesamum.<sup>802</sup> The Black Yajurveda<sup>803</sup> also distinguishes between the black swift-growing āśu and the mahāvrihi. In another place<sup>804</sup> we find reference to black rice and white rice. The Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa<sup>805</sup> speaks of two kinds of rice āśu and mahāvrihi. The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad mentions a large number of crops. Thus we are told "There are ten kinds of village (cultivated) seeds viz., rice and barley (vrihiyavas), sesamum and kidney-beans (tilamāsās), millet and panic seed (anupriyangavas), wheat (godhumā), lentils (masūrā), pulse (khalvā) and vetches (khalakula)."<sup>806</sup> The Rāmāyaṇa mentions sesamum,<sup>807</sup> mudga,<sup>808</sup> mustard,<sup>809</sup> māsā,<sup>810</sup> śāli rice<sup>811</sup> (as also tandula<sup>812</sup>). The Rāmāyaṇa refers to sugarcane,<sup>813</sup> sugarcandy<sup>814</sup> as well as molasses.<sup>815</sup> Royal grain-stores are also mentioned.<sup>816</sup>

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<sup>797</sup> Griffith's White Yajurveda, p. 194.

<sup>798</sup> XIX. 22.

<sup>799</sup> I. 3. 1, 2, 6 ; VII. 2. 10.

<sup>800</sup> VII. 2. 10.

<sup>801</sup> Ibid.

<sup>802</sup> Ibid.

<sup>803</sup> I. 8. 10.

<sup>804</sup> II. 3. 1. 3.

<sup>805</sup> I. 7. 3. 4.

<sup>806</sup> 6th adhyāya, 3rd Brāhmaṇa, verse 13. Max Muller's Translation in S. B. E. Vol. XV., p. 214.

<sup>807</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 20th sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 104th sarga.

<sup>808</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 20th sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 104th sarga.

<sup>809</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 25th sarga.

<sup>810</sup> Uttarakāṇḍa, 104th sarga.

<sup>811</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, 5th sarga ; Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd sarga.

Compare dhānya in Bālakāṇḍa, 6th sarga.

<sup>812</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, 5th sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 104th sarga.

<sup>813</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 104th sarga.

<sup>814</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga.

<sup>815</sup> Uttarakāṇḍa, 105th sarga.

<sup>816</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 36th sarga.

From the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>817</sup> we learn that agriculture was an important art, for, it was included in Vārttā which along with Trayī and Daṇḍanīti comprised the famous three branches of learning. In the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>818</sup> we find that when Bharata came to the forest to take Rāma back to Ajodhyā, Rāma enquired of Bharata whether agriculturists found favour with him, in fact whether all persons living by Vārttā are prospering in his kingdom, for, it was the duty of the king to look after their interests and welfare. As a matter of fact, we find that in Rāma's time the world was green with corn<sup>819</sup>; every city, village and kingdom had plenty of corn.<sup>820</sup> Kośala mahājanapada abounded in corn.<sup>821</sup> Ajodhyā is described as abounding in corn.<sup>822</sup> Every house in the city of Ajodhyā was filled with śālī rice.<sup>823</sup> The Vatsakingdom had plenty of corn (Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 52nd sarga). The banks of the Māgadhī river are described as very fertile and as producing corn.<sup>824</sup> The banks of the river Pampā flowing through the kingdom of Kiṣkindhyā abound in corn.<sup>825</sup> Corn is also grown in Drāviḍa, Sind, Soubīra, Sourāṣṭra, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Anga, Banga, Magadha, Matya and Kāśī.<sup>826</sup>

The farmer had as now constant trouble to contend with : the fields were covered with weeds like salanjāla and nilagalasālā<sup>827</sup>; moles destroyed the seeds; birds and other creatures destroyed the young shoots; both drought and excessive rain destroyed the crops; and lightning often injured crops and plants. The Atharvaveda provides us with a considerable number of spells to avoid these disasters and secure a good harvest. Thus we read :

<sup>817</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, sarga 100, verse 68.

<sup>818</sup> Ibid., sarga 100, verse 47.

<sup>819</sup> Uttarakāṇḍa, sarga 70.

<sup>820</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, sarga 2.

<sup>821</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, sarga 5; Ajodhyākāṇḍa, sarga 50.

<sup>822</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, sarga 75; Ibid., sarga 82; Ibid., 34.

<sup>823</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, sarga 5.

<sup>824</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, sarga 32.

<sup>825</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, sarga 1.

<sup>826</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, sarga 10.

<sup>827</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 16. 4.

“Destroy the rat, the mole, boring beetle, cut off  
 their heads and crush their ribs, O Aświns  
 Bind fast their mouths ; let them not eat our barley”<sup>828</sup>  
 “Spring high, O Barley, and become much through  
 thine own magnificence :  
 Burst all the vessels : let the bolt from heaven forbear  
 to strike the down.”<sup>829</sup>  
 “Strike not, O God, our growing corn with lightning,  
 nor kill it with the burning rays of Sūrya.”<sup>830</sup>

We have also charms for hastening the coming of periodical rains,<sup>831</sup> for fair weather<sup>832</sup> and to avert inundation.<sup>833</sup> All these precautions generally resulted in agricultural prosperity which we find described in many hymns of the Atharvaveda and the other Saṃhitās. It is not necessary to quote at length the prayers for a bumper harvest,<sup>834</sup> increase of cattle<sup>835</sup> and accumulation of wealth<sup>836</sup> ; though these harvest songs throw much light on the requirements of the peasantry and their simple ideas of happiness.

Despite these precautions famines were not unknown. In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad<sup>837</sup> we are told of a famine caused by the destruction of crops by locusts (mataci) whose intensity was so great that a muni Cakrāyana by name had to migrate to a neighbouring country along with his young wife and had to live on kulmāṣa. In the Rāmāyaṇa we find that in Rāma's time the people were free from famine.<sup>838</sup> Nevertheless we find that after the destruction of Vṛtrāsura owing to drought many people died

<sup>828</sup> Ibid., VI. 50. 1.

<sup>829</sup> Ibid., VI. 142. 1.

<sup>830</sup> Ibid., VII. 11. 1.

<sup>831</sup> Ibid., IV. 15.

<sup>832</sup> Ibid., VI. 128.

<sup>833</sup> Ibid., VII. 18. See Kauśikasūtra, CIII. 3. and Weber's Omens and Portents, p. 366.

<sup>834</sup> Ibid., IV. 39. 2 ; VI. 142 ; XIX. 7. 4 ; XIX. 9. 1.

<sup>835</sup> Ibid., I. 31. 4 ; I. 15. 2 ; VI. 16 ; VI. 59. ; VII. 104.

<sup>836</sup> Ibid., I. 15 ; I. 26. 2 ; IV. 39 ; VI. 55. 2 ; VII. 16 ; VII. 17 ; VII. 20. 3 ; VII. 40 ; VII. 41 ; XIX. 3 ; XIX. 7. 5 ; XIX. 10. 2.

<sup>837</sup> I. 10. 1—3.

<sup>838</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, sarga 1 ; Uttarakāṇḍa, sarga 112.

of famine.<sup>839</sup> Again owing to the sin of king Lomapāda, famine over took his kingdom of Anga.<sup>840</sup>

*Forests and their economic importance*—Besides serving as natural pastures the forests supplied an essential part of the economic needs of the people of this age. They provided them with wild rice (nīvāra),<sup>841</sup> fuel<sup>842</sup> and with the materials for the construction of houses,<sup>843</sup> chariots,<sup>844</sup> sacrificial implements<sup>845</sup> and animals.<sup>846</sup> They were a perennial source of supply of medicinal herbs and plants<sup>847</sup> as well as of sacrificial grass.<sup>848</sup> They also supplied the people with aloe (aguru),<sup>849</sup> bdellium (guggulu),<sup>850</sup> spikenard (naladī),<sup>851</sup> resin (śālanirjyāsa),<sup>852</sup> musk,<sup>853</sup> sandalwood,<sup>854</sup> lac,<sup>855</sup> hides,<sup>856</sup> fruits<sup>857</sup> and honey.<sup>858</sup> Sandalwood was used not only for the cremation of kings<sup>859</sup> but also for preparing a paste for personal

<sup>839</sup> Uttarakāṇḍa, sarga 99.

<sup>840</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, sarga, 9.

<sup>841</sup> White Yajurveda, XVIII. 12.

<sup>842</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Aranyakāṇḍa, 11th sarga.

<sup>843</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 56th sarga; Ibid., Aranyakāṇḍa, 15th sarga.

<sup>844</sup> Griffith's Atharvaveda, Vol. II. p. 440 fn.

<sup>845</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 14th sarga.

<sup>846</sup> White Yajurveda, XXIV. 1—40.

<sup>847</sup> See below.

<sup>848</sup> Ibid.

<sup>849</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 76th, 86th and 91st sargas.

<sup>850</sup> Atharvaveda, II. 36. 7; IV. 37. 3; XIX. 38. 1, 2; Compare White Yajurveda, V. 13.

<sup>851</sup> Atharvaveda, IV. 37. 3.

<sup>852</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 76th sarga.

<sup>853</sup> Ibid., Laṅkākāṇḍa, 75th sarga.

<sup>854</sup> Ibid., Aranyakāṇḍa, 15th, 35th and 60th sargas; Ibid., Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st, 27th, and 41st sargas;

<sup>855</sup> Ibid., Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 75th sarga; Ibid., Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 23rd sarga.

<sup>856</sup> Ibid., Aranyakāṇḍa, 43rd sarga (deer-skin) Ibid., Laṅkākāṇḍa, 75th sarga (tiger-skin and the yak's tail).

<sup>857</sup> See below.

<sup>858</sup> Atharvaveda, I. 34. 1—4; III. 30. 2; IV. 36. 6; VII. 56. 2; IX. 1. 16—19, 22; Compare Ibid, XVIII. 2. 14; XVIII. 4. 3; White Yajurveda, I. 16; XVII. 3. 13; XVIII. 65; Black Yajurveda, V. 2. 6; V. 4. 2; Rāmāyaṇa, Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 75th sarga, etc.

<sup>859</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 25th sarga.

adornment.<sup>860</sup> The milky juice of the *Ficus Indica* (Bata) leaves was used in preparing matted locks of hair.<sup>861</sup> No wonder, therefore that the poet-priests sang in the following strain :—

“May the plants be sweet for us.”<sup>862</sup>

“May the tall trees be full of sweets for us.”<sup>863</sup>

The various useful trees known to the people of this period are :—  
 (1) *Vibhidaka* or *Vibhitaka* (*Terminalia Bellerica*)<sup>864</sup> whose nuts were used as dice in very early times.<sup>865</sup> (2) *Palāśa* or *Parṇa* (*Butea Frondosa*)<sup>866</sup> from whose wood covers of some sacrificial vessels were made.<sup>867</sup> The great ladle called *Juhū* with which clarified butter was poured into the sacrificial fire<sup>868</sup> and other sacrificial vessels were made of this wood, to which in the shape of amulets, also great efficacy was ascribed.<sup>869</sup> (3) *Udumbara* (*Ficus Glomerata*)<sup>870</sup> from whose wood besides amulets, sacrificial posts and ladles were made.<sup>871</sup> In the *Bṛhadīranyaka Upaniṣad*<sup>872</sup> we are told : Four things are made of the wood of *Udumbara* tree, the sacrificial ladle (*sruva*), the cup (*kamsa*), the fuel and the two churning sticks.” (4) *Vaikankata*

<sup>860</sup> Ibid., *Ajodhyākāṇḍa*, 76th, 78th, 88th and 91st sargas.

<sup>861</sup> Ibid., 52nd sarga.

<sup>862</sup> White *Yajurveda*, XIII. 27.

<sup>863</sup> Ibid., XIII. 29.

<sup>864</sup> *Atharvaveda*, VII. 109. 1.

<sup>865</sup> *Rigveda*, X 34. 1.

<sup>866</sup> *Atharvaveda*, III. 5 ; V. 5. 6 ; XIV. 1. 61 ; XVIII. 4. 53 ; White *Yajurveda*, XI. 57. 50 ; XII. 86. 79 ; XXXV. 4 ; Black *Yajurveda*, IV. 2. 6 ; VII. 4. 12 ; *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bālakāṇḍa*, 14th sarga ; *Ajodhyākāṇḍa*, 63rd sarga.

<sup>867</sup> *Atharvaveda*, XVIII. 4. 53.

<sup>868</sup> Black *Yajurveda*, III. 5. 7.

<sup>869</sup> *Atharvaveda*, III. 5. Prof. Weber observes that *Palāśa* or *Parṇa* is etymologically identical with the German *Farn*, English *Fern* ; *Fern*-seed was supposed to have the power of rendering one who carried it invisible, and the plant was said to be of celestial origin and able to secure the fulfilment of every wish (*Simrock*, *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie*, p. 498 ).

<sup>870</sup> *Atharvaveda*, XIX. 31 ; White *Yajurveda*, V. 26. 26, 28 ; Black *Yajurveda*, III. 4. 8 ; VII. 4. 12.

<sup>871</sup> Griffith's *Atharvaveda*, Vol. II. p. 287 fn.

<sup>872</sup> 6th *Adhyāya*, 3rd *Brāhmaṇa*, 13.

(*Flacourtia Sapida*)<sup>873</sup> whose wood was used as sacrificial fuel as well as for manufacturing vessels for spirituous liquors.<sup>874</sup> (5) *Madhuka* or *Mandhuka* (*Bassia Latifolia*)<sup>875</sup> whose wood was used as sacrificial fuel.<sup>876</sup> (6) *Aratu* (*calosan* this *Indica*),<sup>877</sup> a hard wooded tree from whose timber the axles of chariots and carts were made.<sup>878</sup> (7) *Bilva*<sup>879</sup> which grows wild and produces an edible fruit, the wood-apple. It was used to curdle milk.<sup>880</sup> (8) *Chandana*, sandal-wood.<sup>881</sup> The *Rāmāyana*<sup>882</sup> refers to three kinds of sandal wood viz., *Gośira*, *Padmaka* and *Hariśyāma*. (9) *Syandana*<sup>883</sup> (10) *Raktachandana*<sup>884</sup> (11) *Nagakeśara*<sup>885</sup> (12) *Siṃha-keśara*<sup>886</sup> (13) *Nāga*<sup>887</sup> (14) *Punnāga*<sup>888</sup> (15) *Śiśunāga*<sup>889</sup>

<sup>873</sup> White *Yajurveda*, X. 34. 32 ; XI. 75. 71 ; XVII. 74.

<sup>874</sup> White *Yajurveda* X. 34. 32. Compare *Vikankata* tree in Black *Yajurveda*, III. 5. 7 ; V. 1. 9 ; V. 4. 7 ; VI. 4. 10.

<sup>875</sup> Black *Yajurveda*, III. 4. 3 ; *Rāmāyana*, *Ajodhyākāṇḍa*, 94th sarga ; *Aranyakāṇḍa*, 11th sarga ; *Laṅkā-kāṇḍa*, 4th sarga ; *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 52nd sarga.

<sup>876</sup> Black *Yajurveda*, III. 4. 8.

<sup>877</sup> *Atharvaveda*, XX. 131. 17, 18.

<sup>878</sup> Griffith's *Atharvaveda*, Vol. II. p. 440 fn.

<sup>879</sup> *Atharvaveda*, XX. 136. 3 ; White *Yajurveda*, XIX. 22 ; XIX. 89 ; XIX. 91 ; XXI. 29 ; Black *Yajurveda*, II. 5. 3 ; *Rāmāyana*, *Aranyakāṇḍa*, 13th sarga.

<sup>880</sup> Black *Yajurveda* II. 5. 3. Sacrificial posts were made of *Bilva* wood (*Rāmāyana*, *Bālākāṇḍa*, 14th sarga).

<sup>881</sup> *Rāmāyana*, *Aranyakāṇḍa*, 15th, 35th and 60th sargas ; *Kiṣkindhyā-kāṇḍa*, 1st, 27th and 41st sargas ; *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 52nd sarga. The *Malavāchala* hill (*Kiṣkindhyā-kāṇḍa*, 41st sarga), the islands or churs in the river *Kāverī* (*Ibid*) and the southern sea-coast of the Deccan (*Aranyakāṇḍa*, 35th sarga) were adorned with sandalwood forests.

<sup>882</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 41st sarga.

<sup>883</sup> *Aranyakāṇḍa*, 15th sarga ; *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st sarga.

<sup>884</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st sarga ; *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 52nd sarga.

<sup>885</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 73rd sarga ; *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 52nd sarga.

<sup>886</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st sarga.

<sup>887</sup> *Lankākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga ; *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st sarga ; *Sundarakāṇḍa*, 14th sarga.

<sup>888</sup> *Aranyakāṇḍa*, 15th, 60th, 75th sargas ; *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 50th sarga ; *Sundarakāṇḍa*, 15th sarga ; *Lankākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga ; *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 31st and 52nd sargas.

<sup>889</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st sarga.

(16) Aśvatthā<sup>890</sup> (17) Nyagrodha<sup>891</sup> (18) Plakṣa, the waved leaf Fig tree (Ficus Infectoria)<sup>892</sup> (19) Śamī (Acacia Sumā or Prosopis Specigera)<sup>893</sup> (20) Śiśu<sup>894</sup> (21) Talāsa, an unidentified tree, described as the queen of trees in the Atharvaveda.<sup>895</sup> (22) Trishtāgha which supplied fuel<sup>896</sup> (23) Vishāṅka, an unidentified plant or tree<sup>897</sup> (24) Putudru (Pinus Deodar), Devadāru tree<sup>898</sup> from whose timber sacrificial posts were made<sup>899</sup> (25) Fig tree<sup>900</sup> (26) Kārshamarya tree (Gmelina Arbora)<sup>901</sup> from whose wood sacrificial ladles were made<sup>902</sup> (27) Kṛimuka,<sup>903</sup> a tree unknown to European Botanists which furnished kindling sticks for sacrificial purposes.<sup>904</sup> (28) Śālmali, silk-cotton tree<sup>905</sup> (29) Dhava (Grislea Tomentosa)<sup>906</sup> (30) Hāridrava<sup>907</sup> which according to Sāyana, is Haritālā tree (31) Śleṣmātaka tree<sup>908</sup> from whose wood sacrificial posts were made<sup>909</sup>

<sup>890</sup> Atharvaveda, III. 6 ; IV. 37. 4 ; V. 4. 3 ; V. 5. 5 ; VI. 11. 1 ; VI 95 1 ; VIII 7. 20 ; VIII. 8. 3 ; XII. 3. 1 ; XX. 131. 17, 18 ; XX. 124. 3 ; Rāmāyaṇa, Aranyakāṇḍa 13th and 72rd sargas.

<sup>891</sup> Atharvaveda, IV. 37. 4 ; V. 5. 5 ; White Yajurveda, XXIII. 16. 13 ; Black Yajurveda, III. 4. 8 ; Rāmāyaṇa, Aranyakāṇḍa, 73rd sarga.

<sup>892</sup> Atharvaveda V. 5. 5 ; Rāmāyaṇa, Aranyakāṇḍa, 73rd sarga ; its wood was used as sacrificial fuel ( Black Yajurveda, III. 4. 8 ).

<sup>893</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 11. 1 ; VI. 50. 3 ; Black Yajurveda, V. 1. 9 ; V. 4. 7.

<sup>894</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 129. 1 ; XX. 129. 7, 8.

<sup>895</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 15. 3.

<sup>896</sup> Atharvaveda, V. 29. 15 ; Kauśikasūtra, XXV. 27.

<sup>897</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 44. 3.

<sup>898</sup> Atharvaveda, VIII. 2. 28 ; White Yajurveda, V. 18. 13 ; Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 43rd sarga.

<sup>899</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 14th sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 52nd sarga.

<sup>900</sup> White Yajurveda, XII. 86. 79.

<sup>901</sup> White Yajurveda, XIII. 13.

<sup>902</sup> Griffith's White Yajurveda, p. 138 fn.

<sup>903</sup> White Yajurveda, XI. 70 ; Compare Kṛimuka wood in Black Yajurveda, V. 1. 9.

<sup>904</sup> Griffith's White Yajurveda, p. 117 fn.

<sup>905</sup> White Yajurveda, XXIII. 16. 13 ; Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

<sup>906</sup> Atharvaveda, XX. 131. 17, 18 ; Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 24th sarga ; Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 94th sarga ; Aranyakāṇḍa, 15th and 73rd sargas ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st and 50th sargas.

<sup>907</sup> Atharvaveda, I. 22. 4=Rigveda I. 50. 12.

<sup>908</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 14th sarga.

<sup>909</sup> Ibid.

- (32) Kukuva<sup>910</sup> (33) Tinduka<sup>911</sup> (34) Pātala<sup>912</sup> (35) Badarī<sup>913</sup> (36) Sal-lakī<sup>914</sup> (37) Betasa<sup>915</sup> (38) Jambu<sup>916</sup> (39) Kiṃśuka<sup>917</sup> (40) Vallātaka<sup>918</sup> (41) Bata (Ficus Indica)<sup>919</sup> (42) Śāla<sup>920</sup> (43) Marichagulma<sup>921</sup> (44) In-gudi<sup>922</sup> (45) Kapittha<sup>923</sup> (46) Panasa<sup>924</sup> (47) Bijapūraka<sup>925</sup> (48) Asana<sup>926</sup> (49) Tamūla<sup>927</sup> (50) Vārūṇḍa<sup>928</sup> (51) Śiṃśapā<sup>929</sup> (52) Nibāra<sup>930</sup>

- <sup>910</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, 24th sarga ; Aranyakāṇḍa, 60th sarga ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 27th sarga.  
<sup>911</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, 24th sarga ; Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 94th sarga ; Aranyakāṇḍa, 73rd sarga ;  
 Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.  
<sup>912</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, 24th sarga ; Aranyakāṇḍa, 15th sarga ; Compare Pātali tree in  
 Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga and Uttarakāṇḍa, 31st sarga.  
<sup>913</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, 24th sarga ; Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 55th and 94th sargas.  
<sup>914</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 55th sarga.  
<sup>915</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 55th sarga ; Aranyakāṇḍa, 61st sarga ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 27th sarga.  
<sup>916</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 55th, 91st and 94th sargas ; Aranyakāṇḍa, 60th and 73rd sargas ;  
 Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 28th sarga ; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 52nd  
 sarga.  
<sup>917</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 55th, 56th and 63rd sargas ; Aranyakāṇḍa, 15th sarga ; Kiṣkindhyā-  
 kāṇḍa, 1st sarga ; Lankākāṇḍa, 104th sarga.  
<sup>918</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 56th sarga.  
<sup>919</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 15th, 53rd, 55th sargas ; Aranyakāṇḍa, 35th sarga ; Lankākāṇḍa,  
 4th sarga.  
<sup>920</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 71st, 72nd, 96th and 99th sargas ; Aranyakāṇḍa, 11th, 15th, 35th  
 and 60th sargas ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 27th, 40th and 50th sargas ; Sundarakāṇḍa,  
 14th sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 52nd sarga. There were beautiful avenues of Śāla  
 trees in the city of Ajodhyā ( Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 5th sarga ).  
<sup>921</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 35th sarga.  
<sup>922</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 50th and 88th sargas.  
<sup>923</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 91st sarga.  
<sup>924</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 11th, 15th, 60th, 73rd, 91st and 94th Sargas ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 31st and  
 52nd sargas.  
<sup>925</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga.  
<sup>926</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 94th sarga.  
<sup>927</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga ; Aranyakāṇḍa, 15th and 35th sargas ; Kiṣkindhyā-  
 kāṇḍa, 27th, 40th and 50th sargas ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 114th sarga.  
<sup>928</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 71st sarga.  
<sup>929</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga ; Sundarakāṇḍa, 14th and  
 18th sargas ; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.  
<sup>930</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 11th and 15th sargas,



- (53) Binduka<sup>931</sup> (54) Piyāla<sup>932</sup> (55) Amkola<sup>933</sup> (56) Tiniśa<sup>934</sup>  
 (57) Beṇu<sup>935</sup> (58) Chiribilwa<sup>936</sup> (59) Tilaka<sup>937</sup> (60) Nīpa<sup>938</sup> (61) Bijaka<sup>939</sup>  
 (62) Aśwakarṇa<sup>940</sup> (63) Lakucha<sup>941</sup> (64) Arjuna<sup>942</sup> (65) Kurara<sup>943</sup>  
 (66) Sindubāra<sup>944</sup> (67) Karṇikāra<sup>945</sup> (68) Nīla<sup>946</sup> (69) Agnimukhya<sup>947</sup>  
 (70) Pāribhadraka<sup>948</sup> (71) Naktamāla<sup>949</sup> (72) Uddālaka<sup>950</sup> (73) Kuranta<sup>951</sup>  
 (74) Churnaka<sup>952</sup> (75) Kobidāra<sup>953</sup> (76) Muchukanda<sup>954</sup> (77) Karañja<sup>955</sup>  
 (78) Raktakuruvaka<sup>956</sup> (79) Kṣīri tree<sup>957</sup> (80) Atimukta<sup>958</sup> (81) Pad-

<sup>931</sup> Araṇyakāṇḍa, 11th sarga.

<sup>932</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 94th sarga ; Araṇyakāṇḍa, 73rd sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 31st sarga.

<sup>933</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 94th sarga ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 94th sarga ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga ; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>934</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 94th sarga ; Araṇyakāṇḍa, 11th and 15th sargas ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st and 27th sargas ; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 52nd sarga.

<sup>935</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 94th sarga.

<sup>936</sup> Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>937</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 94th sarga ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 27th sarga ; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>938</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 94th sarga ; Araṇyakāṇḍa, 15th sarga ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 27th sarga ; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>939</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 94th sarga.

<sup>940</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, 24th sarga ; Araṇyakāṇḍa, 15th sarga ; Sundarakāṇḍa, 53th sarga.

<sup>941</sup> Araṇyakāṇḍa, 15th sarga.

<sup>942</sup> Araṇyakāṇḍa, 60th sarga ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st, 27th and 28th sargas ; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 31st and 52nd sargas.

<sup>943</sup> Araṇyakāṇḍa, 60th sarga.

<sup>944</sup> Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>945</sup> Araṇyakāṇḍa, 73rd sarga ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 40th and 50th sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 31st sarga.

<sup>946</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

<sup>947</sup> Araṇyakāṇḍa, 73rd sarga.

<sup>948</sup> Araṇyakāṇḍa, 73rd sarga.

<sup>949</sup> Araṇyakāṇḍa, 73rd sarga ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

<sup>950</sup> Araṇyakāṇḍa, 75th sarga ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st and 42nd sargas ; Sundarakāṇḍa, 14th and 15th sargas.

<sup>951</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

<sup>952</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga ; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>953</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga ; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 52nd sarga.

<sup>954</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

<sup>955</sup> Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>956</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

<sup>957</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 26th sarga.

<sup>958</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 27th sarga.

maka<sup>959</sup> (82) Sarjja<sup>960</sup> (83) Sarala, Indian pine tree<sup>961</sup> (84) Bāñira<sup>962</sup> (85) Timida<sup>963</sup> (86) Kṛitamāla<sup>964</sup> (87) Saptaparna<sup>965</sup> (88) Bañjula<sup>966</sup> (89) Vabya<sup>967</sup> (90) Rañjaka<sup>968</sup> (91) Muchulinda<sup>969</sup> (92) Pātalika<sup>970</sup> (93) Kūtajā<sup>971</sup> (94) Hintāla<sup>972</sup> (95) Līlāsoka<sup>973</sup> (96) Priyangu<sup>974</sup> (97) Tungaka<sup>975</sup> and (98) Khadira<sup>976</sup> (Acacia Catechu) from whose timber four-cornered sacrificial cups,<sup>977</sup> thrones,<sup>978</sup> sacrificial posts<sup>979</sup> and dipping spoons<sup>980</sup> were made.

From the Rāmāyaṇa we learn that the art of gardening was known and practised in those days. The trees, flower-plants and fruit-trees were planted in the Aśoka forest, the royal pleasure-garden of Lankā by experts (in horticulture).<sup>981</sup> The garden was furnished with tanks having rows of trees planted on their banks with pleasure-houses, beautiful groves and

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<sup>959</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 27th and 43rd sargas ; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>960</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 28th sarga.

<sup>961</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 27th sarga ; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>962</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 27th sarga.

<sup>963</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 27th sarga.

<sup>964</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 27th sarga.

<sup>965</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 30th sarga ; Sundarakāṇḍa, 15th sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 52nd sarga.

<sup>966</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 50th sarga.

<sup>967</sup> Sundarakāṇḍa, 14th sarga.

<sup>968</sup> Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>969</sup> Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>970</sup> Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>971</sup> Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>972</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st and 27th sargas ; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>973</sup> Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>974</sup> Uttarakāṇḍa, 31st and 52nd sarga.

<sup>975</sup> Uttarakāṇḍa 52nd sarga.

<sup>976</sup> Atharvaveda, III. 6. 1 ; V. 5. 5 ; VIII. 8. 3 ; X. 6. 7 ; XII. 3. 1 ; XX. 131. 17, 18 ; White Yajurveda, V. 42 ; VIII. 33 ; X. 26 ; Black Yajurveda, III. 5. 7. 1 ; Rāmāyaṇa, Bālākāṇḍa, 14th sarga ; Araṇya-kāṇḍa, 15th sarga.

<sup>977</sup> White Yajurveda, VIII. 33.

<sup>978</sup> White Yajurveda, X. 26.

<sup>979</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Bālākāṇḍa, 14th sarga.

<sup>980</sup> Black Yajurveda, III. 5. 7. 1.

<sup>981</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa, 52nd sarga.

raised seats here and there.<sup>982</sup> The following flower plants and trees are mentioned in this period :—(1) *Aśoka*<sup>983</sup> (2) *Ketaka*<sup>984</sup> (3) *Champaka*<sup>985</sup> (4) *Bakula*<sup>986</sup> (5) *Raktotpala*<sup>987</sup> (6) *Kadamba*<sup>988</sup> (7) *Mālatī*<sup>989</sup> (8) *Mallikī*<sup>990</sup> (9) *Padmā*<sup>991</sup> (10) *Karavīra*<sup>992</sup> (11) *Sindubāra*<sup>993</sup> (12) *Bāsantī*<sup>994</sup> (13) *Matulinga*<sup>995</sup> (14) *Pūrṇa*<sup>996</sup> (15) *Chirabīlva*<sup>997</sup> (16) *Kunda*<sup>998</sup> (17) *Pārijāta*<sup>999</sup> (18) *Aguru*<sup>1000</sup> (19) *Kāṭiguru*<sup>1001</sup> (20) *Tagara*<sup>1002</sup> (21) *Mandīra*<sup>1003</sup> (22) *Mālāhavi*<sup>1004</sup> (23) *Bañjula*<sup>1005</sup> (24) *Bakula*<sup>1006</sup> (25) *Gagapuṣpi*<sup>1007</sup> (26) *Śrīṣa*<sup>1008</sup> (27) *Nilajhīpti*<sup>1009</sup>

<sup>982</sup> Ibid.

<sup>983</sup> *Ajodhyākāṇḍa*, 10th sarga; *Aranyakāṇḍa*, 15th, 60th, 71st and 75th sargas; *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st and 27th sargas; *Sundarakāṇḍa*, 14th sarga; etc.

<sup>984</sup> *Aranyakāṇḍa*, 15th and 6th sargas; *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st and 27th sargas; *Lankākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga; *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 31st sarga.

<sup>985</sup> *Ajodhyākāṇḍa*, 10th sarga; *Aranyakāṇḍa*, 15th sarga; *Sundarakāṇḍa*, 14th and 15th sargas; *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st and 50th sargas; *Lankākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga; *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 31st sarga.

<sup>986</sup> *Aranyakāṇḍa*, 60th sarga.

<sup>987</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st sarga.

<sup>988</sup> *Aranyakāṇḍa*, 60th and 73rd sargas; *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 27th sarga; *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 31st and 52nd sargas.

<sup>989</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st and 27th sargas,

<sup>990</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st sarga.

<sup>991</sup> White *Yajurveda*, II. 33; Compare *Ibid.*, XI. 32; XXI. 31; *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st sarga.

<sup>992</sup> *Aranyakāṇḍa*, 73rd sarga; *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st sarga; *Lankākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga.

<sup>993</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st and 27th sargas; *Lankākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga.

<sup>994</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st sarga; *Lankākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga.

<sup>995</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st sarga.

<sup>996</sup> Ibid.

<sup>997</sup> Ibid.

<sup>998</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st and 27th sargas; *Lankākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga.

<sup>999</sup> *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 52nd sarga.

<sup>1000</sup> *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 52nd sarga. The southern Sea-coast of the Deccan was adorned with aguru forests (*Aranyakāṇḍa*, 35th sarga).

<sup>1001</sup> *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 52nd sarga.

<sup>1002</sup> *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 31st and 52nd sargas.

<sup>1002</sup> *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 31st sarga.

<sup>1004</sup> *Lankākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga.

<sup>1005</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st and 50th sargas; *Lankākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga.

<sup>1006</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st, 27th and 42nd sargas; *Lankākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga; *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 31st, 52nd and 114th sargas.

<sup>1007</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 12th and 14th sargas.

<sup>1008</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st and 27th sargas.

<sup>1009</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 30th sarga.

(28) Jivaka<sup>1010</sup> (29) Nilotpala<sup>1011</sup> (30) Lodhra<sup>1012</sup> (31) Amūla (Menthonica Superba),<sup>1013</sup> a species of lily (32) Kandala.<sup>1014</sup>

The following fruit trees were known in this period :—(1) Mango<sup>1015</sup> (2) Takkola<sup>1016</sup> (3) Dārimba,<sup>1017</sup> pomegranate (4) Cocoanut<sup>1018</sup> (5) Date-palm (kharjura)<sup>1019</sup> (6) Āmalakī<sup>1020</sup> (7) Tāla<sup>1021</sup> (8) Kadali plant (plantain tree)<sup>1022</sup> and Bilva (Bel tree) [already referred to].

Among the herbs and plants are mentioned (1) Ābayu,<sup>1023</sup> a plant poisonous in its natural condition but medicinal when cooked and properly prepared.<sup>1024</sup> (2) Āndikam, a plant with eggshaped fruits or

<sup>1010</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1011</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

<sup>1012</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st and 43rd sargas ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 31st and 52nd sargas.

<sup>1013</sup> Atharvaveda, V. 31. 4.

<sup>1014</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 28th sarga.

<sup>1015</sup> Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, Adhyāya IV. Brāhmaṇa III. verse 36 ; Rāmāyaṇa, Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 63rd, 91st and 94th sargas ; Aranyakāṇḍa, 15th and 73rd sargas ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa 1st sarga ; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 31st and 52nd sargas. The kingdom of Kośala was adorned with many mango-gardens ( Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 50th sarga ). The City of Ajodhyā also had many mango-gardens ( Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 5th sarga ).

<sup>1016</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Aranyakāṇḍa, 35th sarga.

<sup>1017</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 60th sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 52nd sarga.

<sup>1018</sup> Uttarakāṇḍa, 31st sarga ; The southern sea-coast of the Deccan was adorned with groves of cocoannt trees ( Aranyakāṇḍa, 35th sarga ).

<sup>1019</sup> Ibid., Aranyakāṇḍa, 15th sarga.

<sup>1020</sup> Ibid., Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga ; Ibid., 94th sarga.

<sup>1021</sup> Ibid., Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga and 99th sarga ; Aranyakāṇḍa 15th sarga, 35th and 60th sargas ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 11th, 12th, 40th and 50th sargas ; Uttarakāṇḍa 114th sarga. The poet Vālmikī compares the breasts of Sītā to the large tāla fruit ( Aranyakāṇḍa, 46th sarga ).

<sup>1022</sup> Ibid., Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 13th sarga. The hermitages of Agastya on the Godāvari ( Lankākāṇḍa, 125th sarga ) and of Rāma in the Pañchbatī forest ( Aranyakāṇḍa, 35th and 42nd sargas ) were adorned with groves of plantain tree ; Maitrāyaṇa-Brāhmaṇa—Upaniṣad, 4th Prapātaka, verse 2.

<sup>1023</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 16. 1.

<sup>1024</sup> Griffith's Atharvaveda, Vol. I. p. 253 fn.

bulbs<sup>1025</sup> (3) Apāmārga<sup>1026</sup> (from mṛija, to cleanse or wipe, with apa+ṛ) Achyranthes Aspera, a biennial plant frequently used in incantations, in medicine, in washing linen, and in sacrifices, and still believed to have the power of making men proof against the stings of scorpions. It is called also parākpūṣpī, pratyakpūṣpī and pratyakparṇī from the reverted direction of the growth of its leaves, flowers and fruits<sup>1027</sup> (4) Aukṣhagandhi<sup>1028</sup> (5) Guggulu<sup>1029</sup> (Borassus Flabelliformis) from which a costly fragrant gum exudes. (6) Jaṅgiḍa<sup>1030</sup> a plant frequently mentioned in the Atharvaveda as a charm against demons and a specific for various diseases. It appears to have been cultivated<sup>1031</sup> (7) Naladi<sup>1032</sup> (8) N r̥chi<sup>1033</sup> (9) Pili<sup>1034</sup> (10) Pātā, probably identical with Pāthā (Clypea Hernandifolia)<sup>1035</sup> Like the Scottish rowan or like St. John's wort it was potent against fiends. (11) Baja,<sup>1036</sup> apparently some strong-smelling herb (Atharvaveda, VIII. 6. 10) by whose scent the demon is chased away as was Asmodeus by 'the fishy fume that drove him, though enamoured, from the spouse of Tobit's son' (Paradise Lost, IV. 168) (12) Pinga<sup>1037</sup> (13) Pramandini<sup>1038</sup> (14) Priṣniparṇī<sup>1039</sup> having variegated leaves) Hemionitis Cordifolia, a medicinal plant, a decoction of which is recommended by Susruta to be taken as a preventive against abortion. (15) Ajaśringī,<sup>1040</sup> literally goat's horn, Odina Pinnata, a plant used in incantation. (16) Avakī,<sup>1041</sup> Blyxa

<sup>1025</sup> Atharvaveda, IV. 34. 5; Compare Ibid., 17. 16.

<sup>1026</sup> Ibid., IV. 17. 6; IV. 18. 7, 8; IV. 19. 1, 4; XIX. 20. 3; White Yajurveda, XXXV. 11; IX. 38.

<sup>1027</sup> See Atharvaveda IV. 19. 4, 7; VI. 129. 3 and VII. 65. 1.

<sup>1028</sup> Atharvaveda, IV. 37. 3.

<sup>1029</sup> Ibid., II. 36. 7; IV. 37. 3; XIX. 38. 1, 2; Compare White Yajurveda V. 13.

<sup>1030</sup> Atharvaveda II. 4. 2, 4, 5; XIX. 34; XIX. 35.

<sup>1031</sup> Ibid., II. 4. 5. ('Sprung from the saps of husbandry').

<sup>1032</sup> Ibid., IV. 37. 3. "Smelling of spikenard."

<sup>1033</sup> Ibid., V. 31. 4.

<sup>1034</sup> Ibid., IV. 37. 3.

<sup>1035</sup> Ibid., II. 27. 4; IV. 19. 4.

<sup>1036</sup> Atharvaveda, VIII. 6. 3; VIII. 6. 24.

<sup>1037</sup> Ibid., VIII. 6. 18; VIII. 6. 24.

<sup>1038</sup> Ibid., IV. 37. 3.

<sup>1039</sup> Ibid., II. 25. 1.

<sup>1040</sup> Ibid., IV. 37. 2, 3.

<sup>1041</sup> Ibid., IV. 37. 8; VIII. 7. 9; cf. Ibid., III. 13. 7; VI. 12. 3; White Yajurveda, XXV. 1; Compare Ibid., XIII. 30; XVII. 4; Kauśikaśūtra, XL. 3—6.

Octandra, a water plant called Śaivāla in later times (17) Sāluda<sup>1042</sup> (18) Sappaka,<sup>1043</sup> an aquatic plant (19) Mulalin,<sup>1044</sup> an aquatic plant (20) Sāmā<sup>1045</sup> (21) Silāchi<sup>1046</sup> more usually called Arundhatī<sup>1047</sup>; a medicinal climbing plant formerly applied in cases of severe contusion or fracture<sup>1048</sup> (22) Śipudru,<sup>1049</sup> an unknown plant or tree, a magic cure for consumption.<sup>1050</sup> (23) Vihalha,<sup>1051</sup> an unidentified plant (24) Madāvati,<sup>1052</sup> an unidentified plant (25) Tauvilikā,<sup>1053</sup> some kind of plant or animal (26) Varāṇa,<sup>1054</sup> Crataeva Roxburghii, a plant used in medicine and supposed to possess magical powers. It grew abundantly on the banks of the river Varāṇavati. This Varāṇa healeth all diseases<sup>1055</sup> (27) Viṣā,<sup>1056</sup> some unknown herb (28) Viṣātākī,<sup>1057</sup> some unknown herb (29) Viṣānakā<sup>1058</sup> some unknown plant or tree (30) Kuṣṭha,<sup>1059</sup> Costus Speciosus or Arabicus, a medicinal plant, grown on the snowy mountains, a banisher of fever.<sup>1060</sup> (31) Jivalā, Jivala,<sup>1061</sup> two species of plants (32) Nagnahu<sup>1062</sup> was a root used as yeast, for fermenting the surā<sup>1063</sup> (33) Pātikā or Putika,<sup>1064</sup> a plant used to expedite the curdling of the sacrificial milk<sup>1065</sup> and as substitutes for Soma plant; a kind of grass according to Mahidhara

<sup>1042</sup> Atharvaveda, VIII. 6. 17.

<sup>1043</sup> Ibid., IV. 34. 5

<sup>1044</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1045</sup> Ibid, I. 24. 4. Instead of Sāmā the Paippalāda recension reads Śyāmā (the dusky) with which compare Atharvaveda I. 23. 1; so also Śankara Pandit according to two Mss. Observe also Sāmākā = Śyāmāka in Kauśikasutra VIII. 1. Śyāmā is the name of various plants (See St. Petersburg Dictionary, s. v.).

<sup>1046</sup> Atharvaveda, V. 5. 1.

<sup>1047</sup> Ibid., V. 5. 5; IV. 12. 1; VI. 59. 1; IX. 38. 1.

<sup>1048</sup> Ibid., IV. 12. 1.

<sup>1049</sup> Ibid., VI. 127. 2.

<sup>1050</sup> Ibid., VI. 127. 2.

<sup>1051</sup> Ibid., VI. 16. 2.

<sup>1052</sup> Ibid., VI. 16. 2.

<sup>1053</sup> Ibid., VI. 16. 3.

<sup>1054</sup> Ibid., IV. 7. 1; VI. 85. 1; X. 3.

<sup>1055</sup> Ibid, X. 3. 3.

<sup>1056</sup> Ibid., VII. 113. 2.

<sup>1057</sup> Ibid., VII. 113. 2.

<sup>1058</sup> Ibid., VI. 44. 3.

<sup>1059</sup> Atharvaveda, XIX. 39. 1; V. 4. 1; V. 22. 2; VI. 95; VI. 102. 3; XIX. 57. 2.

<sup>1060</sup> Ibid., V. 4. 1—2.

<sup>1061</sup> Ibid., XIX. 39. 3.

<sup>1062</sup> White Yajurveda, XIX. 14; XX. 57; XXI. 31.

<sup>1063</sup> Atharvaveda, XIX. 83.

<sup>1064</sup> White Yajurveda, XXXVII. 6.

<sup>1065</sup> Black Yajurveda, II. 5. 3.

(34) Śaṇa (*Cannabis Sativa*<sup>1066</sup>) or Bhanga=Bhāṅg,<sup>1067</sup> a plant from which an intoxicating drug is prepared.

The following varieties of grass and reeds are mentioned :—

(1) Darbha,<sup>1068</sup> a grass used for sacrificial purposes. It spreads rapidly and continually re-roots itself and hence described in the Atharvaveda as 'having a thousand joint.'<sup>1069</sup> The strainer of Soma juice was made of two or three blades of Darbha grass.<sup>1070</sup> Girdle or girth with which the sacrificial horse was to be girded was made of Darbha grass.<sup>1071</sup> (2) Durvā (*Panicum Dactylon*),<sup>1072</sup> a creeping grass with flowering branches erect; by far the common and most useful grass in India. It grows everywhere abundantly, and flowers all the year. (3) Kuśa (*Poa Cynosuroides*),<sup>1073</sup> much used in sacrificial ceremonies and endowed with various sanctifying qualities. It is strewn on the place of sacrifice, specially on the altar, and forming a layer on which the offerings are placed, and a seat for the sacrificers and the gods who are present at the ceremony (4) Muñja (*Saccharum Munja*),<sup>1074</sup> a sort of rush or grass which grows to the height of about ten feet. It is used in basket-work, and the mekhalā or girdle worn by the Brāhmaṇas is made from it. It appears from the Kauśikasutra XXV. 6, and Dārila's Commentary thereon, that the head of a stalk of Muñja grass, is to be tied with a cord, then, perhaps, to be suspended from the neck of the patient or to be otherwise attached to his body. Thus worn the grass will prevent diarrhoea in an acute form. Small round mats were made of Muñja grass and used for ceremonial purposes.<sup>1075</sup> (5) Śara (*Saccharum*

<sup>1066</sup> Atharvaveda, II. 4. 5.

<sup>1067</sup> Ibid., XI. 6. 15.

<sup>1068</sup> Atharvaveda, II. 73; VI. 43. 1, 2; VIII. 7. 20; X. 4. 2; X. 4. 13; XI. 6. 15; XIX. 28; XIX. 32; XIX. 68; White Yajurveda, V. 6. 21, 25; XVIII. 75. 63; Black Yajurveda, V. 6. 4.

<sup>1069</sup> Atharvaveda, II. 7. 3.

<sup>1070</sup> White Yajurveda, I. 9. 3; X. 34. 31.

<sup>1071</sup> Ibid., XXII. 1—2.

<sup>1072</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 106. 1; White Yajurveda, XIII. 24. 20.

<sup>1073</sup> Atharvaveda, II. 7. 1; XX. 131. 9; White Yajurveda, IV. 1; V. 42.

<sup>1074</sup> Atharvaveda I. 2. 4; Compare White Yajurveda, IV. 17. 10; XI. 68.

<sup>1075</sup> White Yajurveda, XII. 2.

Sara),<sup>1076</sup> a reed of which arrows were made.<sup>1077</sup> (6) Babbaja<sup>1078</sup> (7) Kāśa<sup>1079</sup> (8) Iṣikā.<sup>1080</sup>

*Sheep and Cattle-rearing*—Despite the great development of agriculture cattle remained the principal wealth of the people. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in connection with the Royal Coronation the raid of cattle is mentioned, a relic no doubt of older days customs. In the Atharvaveda we find innumerable prayers for the increase of cattle. Thus, we have a benediction on homeward cattle,<sup>1081</sup> a charm against worms or bots in cows,<sup>1082</sup> a benediction on cattle-pen,<sup>1083</sup> glorification and benediction of cows,<sup>1084</sup> a charm for the increase of cattle,<sup>1085</sup> a charm to protect cattle,<sup>1086</sup> a benediction on cattle-calf,<sup>1087</sup> a charm to bring the cattle home,<sup>1088</sup> a blessing on cows,<sup>1089</sup> a glorification of the typical bull and cow,<sup>1090</sup> a glorification of the sacred cow,<sup>1091</sup> on the duty of giving cows to Brāhmaṇas.<sup>1092</sup>

The twenty-fourth book of the White Yajurveda contains an exact enumeration of the animals that are to be tied to the sacrificial stakes and in the intermediate spaces, with the names of the deities or deified entities to which they are severally dedicated. The principal stake, the eleventh and midmost of the twenty-one, called the Agniṣṭha because it stands nearest to the sacrificial fire, is mentioned first. About fifteen victims are bound to each of these stakes, all domestic animals, the total number being 327. In the spaces between the stakes 202 wild animals are temporarily confined, to be freed when the ceremony is concluded, bringing the total number of assembled animals upto 609. "There is perhaps some exaggeration in the number" says Mr. Griffith,<sup>1093</sup>

<sup>1076</sup> Atharvaveda, I. 2. 3; Rāmāyaṇa, Ajoḍhyākāṇḍa, 30th sarga.

<sup>1077</sup> Black Yajurveda, VI. 1. 3. (Compare, Vedic Index, II. 357.)

<sup>1078</sup> Black Yajurveda, II. 2. 8.

<sup>1079</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ajoḍhyākāṇḍa, 30th sarga.

<sup>1080</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1081</sup> Atharvaveda, II. 26.

<sup>1082</sup> Ibid., II. 32.

<sup>1083</sup> Ibid., III. 14.

<sup>1084</sup> Ibid., IV. 21.

<sup>1085</sup> Ibid., V. 16.

<sup>1086</sup> Ibid., VI. 59.

<sup>1087</sup> Ibid., VI. 70.

<sup>1088</sup> Ibid., VI. 77.

<sup>1089</sup> Ibid., VII. 75.

<sup>1090</sup> Ibid., IX. 7.

<sup>1091</sup> Ibid., X. 10.

<sup>1092</sup> Ibid., XII. 4.

<sup>1093</sup> White Yajurveda, p. 258 fn.



“and some almost impossible animals are mentioned, but it must be remembered that the Aśwamedha was a most important tribal solemnity of rare occurrence and that no effort should be spared to assure its performance with all possible splendour.” The Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1094</sup> in its account of the Aśwamedha recommends 180 domestic animals to be sacrificed.

Among the domestic animals the following are the most important :—  
 (1) *cow*—The food-value of its milk was very great. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1095</sup> describes the various articles of food prepared from cow's milk. From the Panchaviṃṣa Brāhmaṇa<sup>1096</sup> we learn that bags were made from cow-hide for holding milk, wine and other liquids. The flesh was also used as food. In the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1097</sup> mention is made of scores of Kāmya Iṣtis or minor sacrifices with prayers which required beef for their performance. In the larger ceremonies, such as the Rājasūya, the Vājapeya, and the Aśwamedha, the slaughter of the cow was an invariable accompaniment.<sup>1098</sup> The Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1099</sup> recommends the slaughter of cows, bulls, nilagaos etc. for the Aśwamedha ceremony. It also recommends the slaughter of seventeen five-year old, humpless dwarf bulls and as many dwarf heifers under three years for the Pañchaśāradiya ceremony.<sup>1100</sup> The Taṇḍa Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma Veda<sup>1101</sup> recommends the slaughter of cattle of a different colour for each successive year. The Atharvaveda gives us a prayer accompanying animal sacrifice<sup>1102</sup> and tells us that the dissectors of the sacrificial bull are to call out the names of the several parts of the carcass as they divide them, each portion being assigned to a separate divinity.<sup>1103</sup> The Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa describes in detail the

1094 aśityaśhikaśatasamkhyakāḥ paśava ālabadhyāḥ — Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, II. p. 651.

1095 III. 3. 3.

1096 XIV. 11. 26 ; XVI. 13. 13.

1097 III. ch. VIII.

1098 Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, III. p. 658. Yathā goup aranye swachchandachārī, ebamayaṃ brahmalokopi swatanthro bhabati — Taittiriya Āraṇyaka.

1099 II. p. 651.

1100 Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, Book II.

1101 Taṇḍa Brāhmaṇa, 643 :— śaṣṭyāḥ śaradi kārṭṭike māsi Yajet. Saptamyāmaṣṭamyām tāśwayujīpakṣe tu batsatarīrevāloveran ukṣṇo biṣigeyuḥ.

1102 Atharvaveda, II. 34.

1103 Ibid., IX. 4. 11—14.

of cutting up the victim after immolation, evidently for distribution.\* The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa ‡ of the Atharvaveda gives in detail the names of the different individuals (like the Hotā, the Udgātā, the Adhvaryu, the Upagātā, the householder who ordains the sacrifice, the wife of the latter etc.) who are to receive the thirty-six shares into which the carcass is to be divided. Directions similar to these occur also in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1104</sup> and the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1105</sup> describes Yājñavalkya and Agastya as taking beef. Yājñavalkya was "wont to eat the meat of milch-cows and bullocks, if only it was tender."<sup>1106</sup> In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1107</sup> we are told that when a king or a distinguished person comes as a guest one should kill a Vehat (old barren cow) for his entertainment. The great sage Yājñavalkya expresses a similar view.<sup>1108</sup> At the same time we notice a growing feeling against beef-eating in this period. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1109</sup> we have a long discourse on the non-advisability of cow-slaughter and we find the injunction "Let him not eat the flesh of the cow or the ox for, the cow and the ox doubtless support everything on earth."

The cow was used as a standard of value in purchasing articles even in this period.<sup>1110</sup> Moreover, bullocks were used for ploughing,<sup>1111</sup> for drawing waggons<sup>1112</sup> and carriages<sup>1113</sup> and for carrying loads.<sup>1114</sup>

(2) *The buffalo*—In addition to its milk, the flesh of the buffalo was probably eaten. The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1115</sup> recommends the slaughter of buffaloes for the Aśwamedha sacrifice; so also the White Yajurveda.<sup>1116</sup>

\* Daivyāḥ śamitāraḥ uta manusyā āravadhwaṇ. Upanayata medhyā durah. Aśāsānāmedhapativyām medhaṇ, etc.

‡ Gyathātaḥ sabanīyasya paśoribhāgaṇ byākhyāsyānaḥ etc.

<sup>1104</sup> III. 1. 2. 21.

<sup>1105</sup> II. 7. 11. 1.

<sup>1106</sup> III. 1. 2. 21 = Vedic Index, II. 145.

<sup>1107</sup> I. 3. 4.

<sup>1108</sup> Vaj. I. 109.

<sup>1109</sup> III. 1. 2. 3.

<sup>1110</sup> Black Yajurveda, VI. 1. 6.

<sup>1111</sup> Black Yajurveda, V. 2. 5. 2.

<sup>1112</sup> Ibid., V. 6. 21.

<sup>1113</sup> Ibid., V. 6. 21.

<sup>1114</sup> White Yajurveda, XXIV. 13.

<sup>1115</sup> Book XXIV. 28.

<sup>1116</sup> Books II and III.

The dung of buffaloes was used as fuel for protection against cold.<sup>1117</sup> (3) *The horse*—Horses were used in battle<sup>1118</sup> and in horse—racing.<sup>1119</sup> From the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1120</sup> we learn that Kamboja, Bahllika and Sind were famous for horses. Horses were sometimes given to priests as a sacrificial fee.<sup>1121</sup> (4) *The donkey*—In addition to the horse, the donkey was also used for drawing chariots and waggons and for carrying loads. The story of the race won by the Aświns with a chariot drawn by donkeys is found in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.<sup>1122</sup> (5) *Mule*—The hardiness of mules is praised and their sterility dwelt upon and explained in some of the Brāhmaṇas. They were mainly used for drawing cars,<sup>1123</sup> and waggons and carrying loads. (6) *The camel*—Camels were objects of gift<sup>1124</sup> and of sacrifice.<sup>1125</sup> In the Atharvaveda<sup>1126</sup> we read of “camels that draw the car.” (7) *The goat*—It was an object of sacrifice in the Aśwamedha,<sup>1127</sup> to Indra<sup>1128</sup> to the Aświns,<sup>1129</sup> to Puṣan,<sup>1130</sup> and to Vāyu.<sup>1131</sup> Its flesh was used as food,<sup>1132</sup> milk as drink<sup>1133</sup> and skin as clothing.<sup>1134</sup> (8) *Sheep*—The flesh of sheep was used as food,<sup>1135</sup> milk as drink and wool as a material for cloth. In the Atharvaveda kambalas<sup>1136</sup> and Śāmulyas<sup>1137</sup> are described as ordinary outfits of men and women and were probably made of

<sup>1117</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 99th sarga.

<sup>1118</sup> White Yajurveda, XXIX. 38—39.

<sup>1119</sup> Atharvaveda, II. 14. 6.

<sup>1120</sup> Bāla-kāṇḍa, 6th sarga.

<sup>1121</sup> White Yajurveda, VII. 47.

<sup>1122</sup> IV. 9.

<sup>1123</sup> Atharvaveda, VIII. 8. 22.

<sup>1124</sup> Ibid., XX. 127 1—2.

<sup>1125</sup> White Yajurveda, XXIV. 28 and 29 ; Black Yajurveda, V. 6. 21.

<sup>1126</sup> XX. 127. 2.

<sup>1127</sup> White Yajurveda, XXIV. 16, 32.

<sup>1128</sup> Ibid., XXVIII. 23.

<sup>1129</sup> Ibid., XXI. 40, 41, 46, 47, 59.

<sup>1130</sup> Ibid., XXVIII. 23, 27.

<sup>1131</sup> Griffith's White Yajurveda, p. 281 fu.

<sup>1132</sup> Atharvaveda, IX. 5. 4.

<sup>1133</sup> “The milk of goat is the highest form of draught”—Black Yajurveda, V. 1. 7.

<sup>1134</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 9. 1. 12 ; V. 2. 1. 21, 24 ; Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, XVII. 14—16 ; cf. Atharvaveda, IV. 7. 6.

<sup>1135</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Aranyakāṇḍa, 11th sarga.

<sup>1136</sup> XIV. 2. 66, 67.

<sup>1137</sup> XIV. 1. 25 = Rigveda, X. 85. 29.

sheep's wool. Cloths made of āvika, sheep's wool are clearly mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa.<sup>1138</sup> Acceptance of sheep has been described as having bad effects in the Black Yajurveda.<sup>1139</sup> The sheep seems to have been used in drawing the plough, though the commentator takes sheep to mean 'small oxen like sheep.'<sup>1140</sup> (9) *The ass*—The ass has been described as "the best burden-gatherer of animals."<sup>1141</sup> They are also described as drawing the car of the Aświns.<sup>1142</sup> (10) *Swine*—The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa describes the origin of the boar and refers to its fat and the sandals made of its skin.<sup>1143</sup> The Atharvaveda<sup>1144</sup> refers to its extraordinary quickness at discovering and unearthing all sorts of edible roots. The boar was an object of sacrifice to Indra.<sup>1145</sup> (11) *Elephants*—Elephant-keepers are mentioned in the White Yajurveda.<sup>1146</sup> There is a hymn in the Atharvaveda<sup>1147</sup> whose subject is the taming of elephants and of training them up for the king to ride. From the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1148</sup> we learn that the elephants of the Himalayan and Vindhyan regions were famous for their large size and great length. Hides of elephants are also mentioned.<sup>1149</sup>

**Hunting and Fishing**—Hunting remained the occupation of a large section of the people.<sup>1150</sup> No doubt the forest tribes resorted to hunting mainly for obtaining food but the people in general as well would resort to hunting not only for the pleasure and excitement which it afforded but also on economic grounds, as the frequent slaughter of domestic animals would reduce the livestock before long. Hunting down wild beasts was also necessary for the protection of cattle. The wild dog was tamed mainly for the purpose of assisting the people in the hunt.

<sup>1138</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Lankākāṇḍa, 75th sarga.

<sup>1139</sup> II. 2. 6. 3 : 'the nature of the sheep he accepts who accepts a sheep'.

<sup>1140</sup> Black Yajurveda, V. 6. 21.

<sup>1141</sup> Ibid., V. 1. 5. 5.

<sup>1142</sup> White Yajurveda, XI. 13 ; XXV. 44.

<sup>1143</sup> V. 4. 3. 19.

<sup>1144</sup> II. 27. 2 ; V. 14. 1 ; VIII. 7. 23.

<sup>1145</sup> White Yajurveda, XXIV. 40.

<sup>1146</sup> XXX. 11.

<sup>1147</sup> III. 22.

<sup>1148</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, 6th sarga.

<sup>1149</sup> Atharvaveda, XX. 131. 23.

<sup>1150</sup> White Yajurveda, XVI. 27 ; XXX. 7.

The Atharvaveda<sup>1151</sup> refers to the hunting of boars with the help of hounds. The arrow was sometimes employed but the normal instruments of capture were nets and pitfalls. The word ākhaḥ occurs in the Black Yajurveda<sup>1152</sup> which is taken by Sāyana as a pit artificially made where the hunter could lie in wait at a convenient distance for shooting.<sup>1153</sup> The net called jāla<sup>1154</sup> which was fastened on pegs<sup>1155</sup> was used for capturing wild birds and beasts. The hunting of the deer<sup>1156</sup> and antelope<sup>1157</sup> with the help of the bow and the arrow is referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa.

Fishing became the main occupation of a section of the population. The fisherman fishing in rivers<sup>1158</sup> and in lakes<sup>1159</sup> and the fishvender<sup>1160</sup> are mentioned. Of fish the Nirāla is mentioned in the Atharvaveda.<sup>1161</sup> Of aquatic animals crabs (kakkata) and tortoises (kurma)<sup>1162</sup> are mentioned. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1163</sup> describes the kaśyapa (which is identified with kurma), a sacred animal, a form of Prajāpati from which all beings sprang up, though we do not learn that the kaśyapa was worshipped or eaten sacramentally.<sup>1164</sup>

The word kṛṣāna, meaning a pearl occurs in the Atharvaveda.<sup>1165</sup> The belief mentioned by Dioscorides and Pliny — a belief also prevalent among the Persians — that pearls are formed by drops of rain falling into the oyster-shells when open is recorded in the Atharvaveda.<sup>1166</sup> Pearls seem to have been fished in large quantities for, we find that they were

<sup>1151</sup> XX. 126. 4.

<sup>1152</sup> 4. 11. 3.

<sup>1153</sup> The word is mentioned in Pāṇinī, III. 3. 125, Vārtt. 1, while Pāṇinī himself gives ākhana

<sup>1154</sup> Atharvaveda, X. 1. 30.

<sup>1155</sup> Ibid, VIII. 8. 5.

<sup>1156</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Aranyakāṇḍa, 14th sarga.

<sup>1157</sup> Ibid., Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 56th sarga.

<sup>1158</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 8.

<sup>1159</sup> Ibid., XXX. 16.

<sup>1160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1161</sup> VI. 16. 3.

<sup>1162</sup> Atharvaveda, IX. 4. 16 ; Black Yajurveda, V. 2. 8. 4—5.

<sup>1163</sup> VIII. 5. 1. 5.

<sup>1164</sup> Keith — Black Yajurveda, Introduction, C XXI.

<sup>1165</sup> IV. 10. 1, 3 ; XX. 16. 11.

<sup>1166</sup> IV. 10.

used by men and women not only for the beautification of their persons but also for adorning their horses.<sup>1167</sup> Amulets of the shell of pearl-oyster were also worn by the people as a protection against disease and indigence.<sup>1168</sup>

**Progress in arts and crafts**—In keeping with its wider geographical outlook and its growth of towns this period is marked by a striking development of industrial life and the subdivision of occupations caused by the ever-increasing needs of the townpeople and the agricultural and military requirements of a community settled in the midst of a hostile population. Among the more important industries of this period we may mention the following :—

(1) **Weaving**—Technical terms connected with weaving like *otu* (woof),<sup>1169</sup> *lantu* (yarn, threads),<sup>1170</sup> *anuchāda*<sup>1171</sup> or *prācinātāna*<sup>1172</sup> (forward stretched web) are frequently mentioned. The *vemān* (loom)<sup>1173</sup> and the *mayūḥa*<sup>1174</sup> meaning wooden pegs to stretch the web on or shuttle are mentioned in simile :

“Like shuttle through the loom the steady ferment mixes  
The red juice with the foaming spirit.”<sup>1175</sup>

And in the Atharvaveda we read :

“Singly the two young maids of different colours  
Approach the six-pegged warp in turns and weave it.”<sup>1176</sup>

Day and Night are compared here to two young maids, the six regions of the world to the six wooden pegs : Dawn weaves the luminous weft of

<sup>1167</sup> Atharvaveda, XX. 16. 11.

<sup>1168</sup> Ibid., IV. 10. 3.

<sup>1169</sup> Ibid., XIV. 2. 51 ; White Yajurveda, VI. 1. 1. 4.

<sup>1170</sup> Atharvaveda, XIV. 2. 51 ; cf. XV. 3. 6 ; Kāthaka Saṃhitā, XXIII. 1.

<sup>1171</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 1. 2. 13 ff.

<sup>1172</sup> Black Yajurveda, VI. 1. 1. 3 ff.

<sup>1173</sup> White Yajurveda, XIX. 83 ; Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, III. 11. 9 ; Kāthaka Saṃhitā, XLII. 3 ; Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, II. 1. 4. 2.

<sup>1174</sup> White Yajurveda, XIX. 80.

<sup>1175</sup> White Yajurveda, XIX. 83.

<sup>1176</sup> Atharvaveda, X. 7. 42.

Day and Night removes it from the loom. The use of a large number of words for cloth and for its different parts presupposes a fully developed and long established indigenous weaving industry. For cloth we have the words *vastra*,<sup>1177</sup> *vāsas*<sup>1178</sup> and *vasana*.<sup>1179</sup> The *sic* meaning the border or fringe occurs in the Atharvaveda<sup>1180</sup> where the child is covered by its mother's *sic* and in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1181</sup> where a deer horn is tied in the sacrificer's *sic*. *Daśā* meaning border or fringe occurs in the Brāhmaṇas.<sup>1182</sup> The wider border is specially designated *nīvi*,<sup>1183</sup> the closely woven end of the cloth — from which depends the *praghāta*<sup>1184</sup> or the strikers, the loose long unwoven fringe with swaying tassels. The *vāsas* has only one *nīvi* usually, as now, the other end of the cloth being much plainer : to this plainer end would belong the *tūṣa*,<sup>1185</sup> (the chaffs), a shorter fringe corresponding to the modern *chilkā*. The *vāṭaṣāna*<sup>1186</sup> descriptive of the *vāsas* as part of it, obviously cannot mean 'a garment to protect against winds' : it is rather that part of the cloth which protects it against winds, *i. e.*, its lengthwise borders<sup>1187</sup> which keep the web together from becoming thread-bare by fluttering in the wind (specially during movements). The *ārokaḥ*<sup>1188</sup> (or 'the brilliants') seem to have been

<sup>1177</sup> Ibid., V. 1. 3 ; IX. 5. 25 ; XII. 3. 21.

<sup>1178</sup> White Yajurveda, II. 32 ; XI. 40 : Black Yajurveda, VI. 1. 9. 7 ; VI. 1. 11. 2 ; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa I. 3.

<sup>1179</sup> Chāndogya Upaniṣad VIII. 8. 5 ; Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, II. 15.

<sup>1180</sup> XVIII. 3. 50 = Rīgveda, X. 13. 11.

<sup>1181</sup> III. 2. 1. 18.

<sup>1182</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 3. 2. 9 ; cf. IV. 2. 2. 11 ; I. 1. 2. 8 ; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII. 32.

<sup>1183</sup> Atharvaveda, VIII. 2. 16 ; Black Yajurveda, VI. 1. 1. 3 ff. ; Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā, XIII. 1. ; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 1. 2. 13 ff.

<sup>1184</sup> Ibid. The *antāḥ* of Atharvaveda, XIV. 2. 51. is clearly = *praghāta*.

<sup>1185</sup> Black Yajurveda, I. 8. 1. 1 ; II. 4. 9. 1 ; VI. 1. 1. 3 ; Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā, XIII. 1. ; Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, I. 6. 1. 8 ; Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, XVII. 1. That *tūṣa* = chaff, like lashes is evident from its dedication [to Agni].

<sup>1186</sup> Black Yajurveda, VI. 1. 1. 3 ff. ; *vāṭapā* : Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā, XXIII. 1.

<sup>1187</sup> Probably preserved (in the *batan* (= border) of the Bengal weavers *e. g.*, in *golā-batan* cloths ; also in vernacular 'bātā', split bamboo, used in strengthening borders of thatches etc.

<sup>1188</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 1. 2. 13 ff. : *atirokaḥ* : Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā, XXIII. 1. ; compare the classification of shawls as *ek-rokḥā* and *du-rokḥā* according to the nature of their embroidered patterns.

flowers, stars or other spotty patterns embroidered all over the cloth,<sup>1189</sup> corresponding to modern *phul*, *butā* etc.

The *vāsas* was always tied or girt (*nah*)<sup>1190</sup> which implies tucks and knots. The idiom *nīvimṣṣ*<sup>1191</sup> shows that each individual wore the *nīvi* in his or her own way. The *nīvi*-knot was sometimes so fashioned as to form a pouch, wherein magic herbs could be borne.<sup>1192</sup> Sometimes also the *nīvi* consisted of simply two tuckings up (*udgūhana*)<sup>1193</sup> at the sides (as now, with men). Elsewhere women are said to tie their *nīvi* on the right side of the hip; such *nīvi* must have been an ampler gather of folds and fringe-tassels, for there a bundle of *bahris* represents the *nīvi*.<sup>1194</sup> It seems probable that no part of the broad border was left for covering the bosom and shoulders and the early sculptures, etc., do not show it. Apparently the upper part of the body was covered by another separate garment called *adhivāsa*.<sup>1194</sup> The *adhivāsa* seems to have been an 'over-garment', worn by princes over their inner and upper garments.<sup>1195</sup> We have already seen that in the *Rigveda*<sup>1196</sup> the forests are described as the *adhivāsa* of mother-earth licked by the fire-child. It was thus more like a long loose-flowing dressing-gown, suiting both men and women<sup>1197</sup> and not a close-fitting garment as the authors of the Vedic Index have taken it to be. It may not, however, have been a tailor-made garment at all being called a *vāsas*.<sup>1198</sup> The *drāpi*<sup>1199</sup> seems to have

<sup>1189</sup> So also they are dedicated to the *nakṣatras*, stars.

<sup>1190</sup> *Atharvaveda*, XIV. 2. 70.

<sup>1191</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII. 2. 16 (what *nīvi* thou makest for thyself?); *Atharvaveda*, VIII. 6. 2. 20; XIV. 2. 49—50. It is possible, however, to see in 'yat te *vāsaḥ* *paridhānaṃ*, *yāṃ nīviṃ kṛṇuṣe tvam*, a reference to the ordinary wearing cloth and a separate woven strip to serve as waist-band and this separation of the *nīvi* is also shown in quite early sculptures, etc. But even in that case *nīvi* would be an outer adjunct and not an inner garment as taken by the authors of the Vedic Index.

<sup>1192</sup> *Atharvaveda*, VIII. 6. 20.

<sup>1193</sup> *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III. 2. 1. 15.

<sup>1194</sup> *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. 4. 4. 3.

<sup>1195</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1196</sup> I. 140. 9.

<sup>1197</sup> *Rigveda*, I. 140. 9 (*mātuh*); cf. *Rigveda*, X. 5. 4. <sup>1198</sup> *Rigveda*, I. 162. 16.

<sup>1199</sup> According to the authors of the Vedic Index *drāpi* is a coat of mail.



been a gold-embroidered<sup>1200</sup> vest.<sup>1201</sup> *Peśa*, is gold-embroidered cloth generally<sup>1202</sup> with artistic designs.<sup>1203</sup> The *pratidhi* must from the context<sup>1204</sup> refer to a part of the bride's attire, apart from the newly woven, excellent garment.<sup>1205</sup> The *uṣṇīṣa*, head-dress occurs for the first time in the Atharvaveda<sup>1206</sup> and often in the Yajurveda Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas chiefly in connection with the *Vrātyas*<sup>1207</sup> and kings.<sup>1208</sup> The *Vrātya* *uṣṇīṣa* was bright and white as day,<sup>1209</sup> so that it might well have been of some fine cotton-stuff. According to Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra<sup>1210</sup> the *uṣṇīṣa* was tied with a tilt and cross windings ( *tiryāñ-naddham* ). At sacrificial ceremonies, however, the king's *uṣṇīṣa* was tied in a special manner: the ends were gathered together and tucked away in front, so as to cover them up.<sup>1211</sup> Elsewhere in ritual the *uṣṇīṣa* was a mere handkerchief<sup>1212</sup>; so also Indrāṇī wears an *uṣṇīṣa* like a Zone, of variegated hue<sup>1213</sup>—clearly a multi-coloured kerchief.

Among the materials used in the weaving of cloth wool was one. *Uṣṇā* was the hairy covering of any animal while *āvika* in the sense of sheep's wool occurs in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.<sup>1214</sup> Threads of wool are mentioned in the white Yajurveda,<sup>1215</sup> Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā<sup>1216</sup> and the

<sup>1200</sup> *Hiraṇya-drāpi* worn by Arāti in Atharvaveda, V. 7. 10.

<sup>1201</sup> Atharvaveda, XIII. 3. 1 where the Sun wearing the three worlds is described as making a *drāpi* of them. Hence the *drāpi* seems to have three pieces, two side ones and one back like a waist-coat. The fact that it was worn by women as well ( Atharvaveda, V. 7. 10 ) and the use of 'vasānaḥ' ( *drāpiṃ vasānaḥ* in Rigveda, IX. 86. 14 ) would show that it was not a coat of mail but was made of *vāsa*, cloth.

<sup>1202</sup> White Yajurveda, XIX. 82, 83, 89.

<sup>1203</sup> Ibid., XX. 41 where the design is compared to the poet's songs.

<sup>1204</sup> Atharvaveda, XIV. 1. 8.

<sup>1205</sup> Ibid., XIV. 1. 7. 45.

<sup>1206</sup> XV. 2. 1 ff.

<sup>1207</sup> *Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XVI. 6. 13.; XVII. 1. 14.

<sup>1208</sup> *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. 3. 5. 23 (King at sacrifices); XIV. 2. 1. 18 (Indrāṇī); III. 3. 2. 3. (King 'Soma'); Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā IV. 4. 3 (Kṣatra at sacrifices); Black Yajurveda, III. 4. 1. 4; Kāṭhaka Samhitā, XIII. 10.

<sup>1209</sup> Atharvaveda, XV. 2.

<sup>1210</sup> XXI. 4.

<sup>1211</sup> *Samhitā purastād avaguhyaṭi* in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. 3. 5. 20ff.

<sup>1212</sup> *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV. 5. 2. 2. 7. Compare *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III. 3. 2. 3.

<sup>1213</sup> *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIV. 2. 1. 8.

<sup>1214</sup> II. 3. 6.

<sup>1215</sup> XIX. 80.

<sup>1216</sup> III. 11. 9.

Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā<sup>1217</sup>; while Kambala<sup>1218</sup> (blanket) and sāmulya (undergarment of wool?) are mentioned in the Atharvaveda.<sup>1219</sup>

A more common material for weaving cloth for ritual use was linen or silk. The tārpya<sup>1220</sup> with which the dead body is clothed in order that the dead may go about properly dressed in the realm of Yama<sup>1221</sup> is a silken garment according to Goldstücker while others take it to mean linen. If the commentator has any basis for its explanation 'made from Tṛpa or Triparṇā leaves', these would refer to mulberry leaves or other leaves suitable for silk-cocoons. According to Professor Subimal Chandra Sarkar<sup>1222</sup> the 'uttuda' in Atharvaveda, III. 25.1. probably means 'sprung from 'tuda' mulberry i.e., silken (coverlet). The Kṣauma which according to Max Müller means a linen cloth occurs in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā<sup>1223</sup> and in the Black Yajurveda.<sup>1224</sup> The Atharvaveda<sup>1225</sup> refers to Śana, a hemp as growing in the forest but we do not know whether its fibre was used as a material for weaving cloth. Garments made of bark, so frequent in later literature are rarely mentioned in Vedic texts; probably the 'barāsi' of Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā<sup>1226</sup> was a barken stuff; and it is interesting to note in this connection that the Kāṭhakas lived in the North-Western and sub-Himalayan regions where the Barās tree, a red-flowered rhododendron is still fabled to yield cloths.

No doubt, the word kārpāsa (meaning cotton from the cotton plants of the genus Gossipium with its typical convoluted structure) does not occur either in the Rigveda or in later Vedic literature proper; but we have already seen that the Babylonian and Greek names for cotton—

<sup>1217</sup> XXXVIII. 3.

<sup>1218</sup> In vernacular proverbs and folk-lore the kambala is made of loma, hair. Compare Tamil, 'Kam (p) ali = rough hair-cloth.

<sup>1219</sup> XIV. 2. 66, 67 (Kambala); XIV. 1. 25 (Sāmulya).

<sup>1220</sup> Black Yajurveda, II. 4. 11. 6; Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, IV. 4. 3; Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, I. 3. 7. 1.; I. 7. 6. 4; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V. 3. 5. 20; Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra, XV. 5. 7.

<sup>1221</sup> Atharvaveda, XVIII. 4. 31.

<sup>1222</sup> Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India, p. 62 fn

<sup>1223</sup> III. 6. 7.

<sup>1224</sup> VI. 1. 1. 3.

<sup>1225</sup> II. 4. 5.

<sup>1226</sup> XV. 4; also Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, XVIII. 9. 6; XXI. 3. 4.

Sind and Sindon respectively—have always pointed to Sind as the home of cotton-growing and that cotton as weaving material was known early in the Chalcolithic Age to the people of Sind as proved by the discovery at Mohenzo-daro of karpāsa and of even scraps of a fine woven cotton material. The word karpāsa does, however, occur in the Aśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra which was composed not later than the eighth century B. C. towards the close of the Brāhmaṇa Period when the Aryans came to occupy the cotton-growing districts lying far into the interior of country.

From the Rāmāyaṇa we find that the weaving industry was carried to its perfection. We hear of beddings decorated with gold,<sup>1227</sup> coverlets decked with gems and jewels,<sup>1228</sup> coverlet decorated with gold<sup>1229</sup> coverlet or carpet (āstarāṇa) decorated with gold and silver<sup>1230</sup> coverlet or carpet (āstarāṇa) dyed with the colour of lac (lākṣā-rāga-rañjita),<sup>1231</sup> gold-embroidered dress (worn by king Rāvaṇa),<sup>1232</sup> cloth decorated with designs (citra-vastra) presented by Kekayarāja Yudhājīt to king Rāma of Ajodhyā<sup>1233</sup> and blankets with variegated designs on them.<sup>1234</sup>

Garments were a favourite article of gift to Brahmins and dependents. King Daśaratha is described as the giver of garments.<sup>1235</sup> As the funeral procession of Daśaratha proceeded to the cremation grounds, garments were freely distributed among the people.<sup>1236</sup> At the śrādhā ceremony of Daśaratha Brahmins were lavishly presented with white cloths.<sup>1237</sup> King Janaka's marriage-dowry to his daughters included among others blankets, silk or linen garments and ordinary cloth.<sup>1238</sup> On the eve of her departure for the Daṇḍaka forest Sītā under the advice of her husband gave away all her best garments first to the Brahmins and then to her servants.<sup>1239</sup>

Kṣauma is frequently mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa. We find Kauśalyā dressed in kṣauma in pūjā time.<sup>1240</sup> The beauty of the hump-backed

1227 Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 50th sarga.

1228 Lankākāṇḍa 11th sarga.

1229 Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa 23rd sarga.

1230 Uttarakāṇḍa, 113th sarga.

1231 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 77th sarga.

1232 Ibid., 77th sarga.

1233 Bālakāṇḍa, 74th sarga : 'Kambalānāṇcha mukhyānām kṣaumyān kotyambarāṇi cha'.

1234 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 30th sarga.

1228 Sundarakāṇḍa, 10th sarga.

1229 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 88th sarga.

1230 Sundarakāṇḍa, 10th sarga.

1231 Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 50th sarga.

1232 Ibid., 76th sarga.

1240 Ibid., 4th sarga.

maid-servant Mantharā increased whenever she wore kṣauma.<sup>1241</sup> On the occasion of Rāma's proposed consecration as Yuvarāja his mother Kauśalyā wore kṣauma.<sup>1242</sup> On this occasion Rāma himself was dressed in kṣauma.<sup>1243</sup> On this occasion even the nurses of the royal palace of Ajodhyā were dressed in kṣauma.<sup>1244</sup> King Janaka's marriage-dowry to his daughters included a large quantity of kṣauma.<sup>1245</sup> Daśaratha's queens were clad in kṣauma when they welcomed their newly married daughters-in-law and led them to the temple.<sup>1246</sup> Leaving aside his usual dress and weapons Bharata before entering the hermitage of Varadwāja wore kṣauma as befitting such an occasion.<sup>1247</sup> When Rāvaṇa was cremated his dead body was dressed with kṣauma.<sup>1248</sup> It thus becomes apparent that in the age of Rāmāyaṇa kṣauma was specially used on ceremonial occasions.

Blankets (made of wool) were also used. Blanket-makers (kambala-kāra) followed Bharata when he left Ajodhyā to bring Rāma back from the forest.<sup>1249</sup> Blankets formed part of the marriage-dowry given by king Janaka to his daughters.<sup>1250</sup> Bharata received as present from his maternal grandfather multi-coloured blankets.<sup>1251</sup> Kekayarāja Yudhājit sent presents of kambalas to king Rāma of Ajodhyā.<sup>1252</sup> In the palatial houses built by Maya in the Golden Forest Hanumāna saw innumerable blankets of variegated designs stored up.<sup>1253</sup> When Hanumāna set fire to the city of Lankā many blankets and cloth made of āvika, sheep's wool along with kṣauma were reduced to ashes.<sup>1254</sup>

Silk cloths (kaūṣeya) are also frequently mentioned. On the occasion of Rāma's proposed consecration as Yuvarāja the streets of Ajodhyā were overspread with patta-vastra and kaūṣeya.<sup>1255</sup> On the eve of his departure for the Daṇḍaka forest Rāma gave away kaūṣeya cloths to an ācārya.<sup>1256</sup>

- 1241 Ibid., 9th sarga.  
 1242 Ibid., 20th sarga.  
 1243 Ibid., 6th sarga.  
 1244 Ibid., 7th sarga.  
 1245 Bālakāṇḍa, 74th sarga.  
 1246 Ibid., 77th sarga.  
 1247 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 90th sarga.  
 1248 Lankākāṇḍa, 113th sarga.

- 1249 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga.  
 1250 Bālakāṇḍa, 74th sarga.  
 1251 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 70th sarga.  
 1252 Uttarakāṇḍa, 113th sarga.  
 1253 Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 50th sarga.  
 1254 Lankākāṇḍa, 75th sarga.  
 1255 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 17th sarga.  
 1256 Ibid., 82nd sarga.

Sitā used to wear kauṣeya in the royal palace in Ajodhyā.<sup>1257</sup> On Daśaratha's death Vaśiṣṭha sent messengers with presents of kauṣeya to Bharata to bring him back from his maternal grandfather's palace in the Kekaya kingdom.<sup>1258</sup> Bharata in the course of his search for Rāma found silken threads (kauṣeya-tantu) of Sitā's dress sticking to the grass over which she slept in the forest.<sup>1259</sup> Sitā used to wear yellow silken cloth (pita-kauṣeya) while at Pañchavati forest.<sup>1260</sup> While she was being carried away by Rāvaṇa Sitā threw away her silken upper garment of golden hue (kanakadyuti-kauṣeya-uttariya) at the five monkeys so that they may give a clue to Rāma about her whereabouts.<sup>1261</sup> Even in the Aśoka forest Hanumāna found Sitā wearing her self-same yellowish silk-dress.<sup>1262</sup>

(2) **Metal industry**—The advance of civilisation is also seen in the more extended knowledge and use of metals and in the large number of mining industries of the period. Besides gold<sup>1263</sup> and ayaś<sup>1264</sup> known in the Rigvedic Age, the Atharvaveda mentions silver,<sup>1265</sup> tin (trapu),<sup>1266</sup> lead (śiśa)<sup>1267</sup> and śyāma, occurring along with asi, meaning a sword.<sup>1268</sup> In a passage of the White Yajurveda we find a list of six metals then known. :

“Hiraṇyaṃ chame ayaśchame śyāmaṃ chame  
lohaṃ chame śiśaṃ chame trapu chame.”<sup>1269</sup>

‘May my gold, my ayaś, my iron (śyāma), my copper (loha), my lead (śiśa) and my tin (trapu) prosper by sacrifice. Elsewhere in the White Yajurveda

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- |      |  |  |
|------|--|--|
| 1257 | Ibid., 37th sarga.   | XIX. 57. 5 ; XX. 57. 16 ; XX. 131.   |
| 1258 | Ibid., 68th sarga.   | 6, 8 ; XX. 127. 3 ; XX. 128. 6.  |
| 1259 | Ibid., 88th sarga.   | 1264 Atharvaveda, V. 28. 1, 5 ; VI. 63.  |
| 1260 | Aranyakāṇḍa, 47th, 52nd and 60th sargas.   | 2, 3 ; VI. 84. 3 ; VI. 141. 2 ; VII. 115. 1 ; VIII. 8. 2 ; XIX. 58. 4 ; XIX. 66 ; XX. 80. 3. |
| 1261 | Ibid., 54th sarga.   | 1265 Atharvaveda, V. 28. 1, 5 ; XIII. 4. 51.   |
| 1262 | Sundarakāṇḍa, 15th sarga.  | 1266 Atharvaveda, XI. 3. 8.  |
| 1263 | Atharvaveda, I. 35. 1, 3 ; II. 36. 7 ; V. 1. 3 ; V. 28. 1, 5 ; VI. 69. 1 ; VI. 124. 3 ; VII. 14. 2 ; IX. 5. 14, 25, 26, 29 ; XII. 1. 44 ; XIV. 1. 40 ; XVIII. 3. 18 ; XVIII. 4. 58 ; XIX. 26. 1 ; XIX. 27. 9, 10 ; | 1267 Atharvaveda, I. 16. 2, 4 ; XII. 2. 1, 19, 20, 53.                                       |
|      |  | 1268 Atharvaveda, IX. 5. 4.  |
|      |  | 1269 White Yajurveda, XVIII. 13.   |

besides gold,<sup>1270</sup> *ayas*,<sup>1271</sup> lead<sup>1272</sup> and silver<sup>1273</sup> are mentioned. In the Black Yajurveda we have the story of the origin of silver. We are told that Agni carried off the booty gained by the Devas from the Asuras. Pursued by the gods he cried and his tears were converted into silver. The Black Yajurveda also gives us the self-same list of six metals preserved in the White Yajurveda in the following passage : "May for me.....gold, *ayas*, lead (*śīsa*), tin (*trapu*), iron (*śyāma*), copper (*loha*) ..... prosper through the sacrifice."<sup>1274</sup> The Upaniṣads mention besides gold,<sup>1275</sup> silver,<sup>1276</sup> lead,<sup>1277</sup> tin,<sup>1278</sup> *loha*<sup>1279</sup> and *lavaṇa*.<sup>1280</sup> According to Maxmüller *lavaṇa* is "a kind of *ksāra* or *tanka* or *tankana*. It is evidently borax which is still imported from the East Indies under the name of *tincal*, and used as a flux in chemical processes."<sup>1281</sup>

The *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyana*<sup>1282</sup> narrates the mythological origin of gold, silver, copper, iron, tin (*raṅga*) and lead out of the womb of *Gangā*, the daughter of the Himalayas. The Himalayas are described as containing all kinds of metal.<sup>1283</sup> Mines of metals on hill-sides are referred to in the *Ajodhyakāṇḍa*.<sup>1284</sup> We find *Rāma* showing to *Sitā* the beauty of *Chitrakūta* hill, adorned with mines of metals of white, red and yellow

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| <p><sup>1270</sup> White Yajurveda, IV. 17 ; IV. 26 ; V. 15 ; VII. 45 ; X. 15 ; X. 25 ; XII. 1 ; XII. 3 ; XIII. 3, 4, 28, 39 ; XVII. 11, 71 ; XX. 1 ; XX. 2 ; XXIII. 37.</p> <p><sup>1271</sup> Ibid., V. 8 ; XII. 63 ; XXVI. 26 ; XXIX. 20.</p> <p><sup>1272</sup> Ibid., X. 14 ; XIX. 80 ; XXIII. 37.</p> <p><sup>1273</sup> Ibid., V. 8 ; XXIII. 37 ; XX. 2 ; XXXVII. 11.</p> <p><sup>1274</sup> Black Yajurveda, IV. 7. 5. Compare <i>Kāthaka Saṃhitā</i>, XVIII. 10 ; <i>Kapiṣṭhala Saṃhitā</i>, XXVIII. 10 ; <i>Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā</i>, II. 11. 5 ; <i>Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa</i>, XVIII. 13—15.</p> <p><sup>1275</sup> <i>Kāthopaniṣad</i>, I. 1. 23 ; <i>Bṛhadāraṇya-</i></p> | <p><i>kopaniṣad</i> I. 3. 26 ; VI. 2. 7 ; cf. I. 1. 2 ; III. 1. 1 ; IV. 4. 4 ; VI. 4. 25 ; <i>Chāndogyopaniṣad</i>, IV. 17. 7 ; V. 10. 9 ; VII. 24. 2 ; VIII. 12. 5 ; <i>Aitareya Āraṇyaka</i>, III. 2. 4. 17.</p> <p><sup>1276</sup> <i>Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad</i>, I. 1. 2 ; <i>Chāndogyopaniṣad</i>, IV. 17. 7.</p> <p><sup>1277</sup> <i>Chāndogyopaniṣad</i>, IV. 17. 7.</p> <p><sup>1278</sup> Ibid.</p> <p><sup>1279</sup> Ibid.</p> <p><sup>1280</sup> Ibid.</p> <p><sup>1281</sup> <i>Sacred Books of the East</i>, Vol. I. p. 71 fn.</p> <p><sup>1282</sup> 37th sarga.</p> <p><sup>1283</sup> <i>Bālakāṇḍa</i>, 35th sarga.</p> <p><sup>1284</sup> 63rd sarga.</p> |
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colour.<sup>1285</sup> Bharata while marching with his army by the side of Chitrakūta in search of Rāma, saw on the hill-slopes minerals of various kinds like gairika etc.<sup>1286</sup> Rāvaṇa on reaching the mountaneous southern sea-coast of the Deccan found the sea-shore strewn with dried up pearls and corals.<sup>1287</sup> On account of the coppery colour of his waist Hanumāna is described as a hill adorned with a newly worked up mine of gairika.<sup>1288</sup> Blood coming out of the wounded body of Bāli is compared to water oozing out of mines of copper and gairika on the body of the hill.<sup>1289</sup> There were mines of different kinds in Ajodhyā as well.<sup>1290</sup> On Sudarśana hill among the Himālayas there was a mine of gold.<sup>1291</sup> The Ayomukha mountain otherwise known Malayāchal by whose side the river Kāveri flows is adorned with mines of different metals.<sup>1292</sup> Silver mines in which Sītā is to be searched for are also mentioned.<sup>1293</sup>

In the Rāmāyaṇa besides gold, silver, copper, iron, lead and tin we find mention of various other mineral products like gairika,<sup>1294</sup> sudhā,<sup>1295</sup> avra (mica),<sup>1296</sup> sphaṭika (crystal)<sup>1297</sup> and diamonds.<sup>1298</sup>

In the literature of this period we find references not only to the goldsmith<sup>1299</sup> but also to his work: "As a goldsmith taking a piece of gold turns it into another, newer and more beautiful shape so does the Self, after having thrown off this body and dispelled ignorance, makes unto himself another, newer and more beautiful shape."<sup>1300</sup> The melting of gold in fire for purification<sup>1301</sup> and the softening of gold by means of

<sup>1285</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 94th sarga.

<sup>1286</sup> Ibid., 113th sarga.

<sup>1287</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 35th sarga.

<sup>1288</sup> Sundarakāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

<sup>1289</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 23rd sarga.

<sup>1290</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 100th sarga.

<sup>1291</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 43rd sarga.

<sup>1292</sup> Ibid., 41st sarga.

<sup>1293</sup> Ibid., 39th sarga.

<sup>1294</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 113th sarga; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 23rd sarga; Sundarakāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

<sup>1295</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 80th sarga; Aranyakāṇḍa, 5th sarga; Sundarakāṇḍa, 7th sarga.

<sup>1296</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga.

<sup>1297</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 55th sarga; Sundarakāṇḍa, 9th and 10th sargas; Lankākāṇḍa, 11th sarga.

<sup>1298</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa 55th sarga; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 10th sarga; Lankākāṇḍa, 77th and 78th sargas.

<sup>1299</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 17; Rāmāyaṇa, Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 40th sarga.

<sup>1300</sup> Bṛhadāranyakopaniṣad, IV. 4. 4.

<sup>1301</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 24th sarga.

lavaṇa (borax)<sup>1302</sup> are mentioned. The use of gold in exchange, in sacrifice as well as in the manufacture of ornaments and of sundry other articles for domestic use lends colour to the view that there must have been sources of local supply of gold. Professors Macdonell and Keith<sup>1303</sup> are of opinion that in those days gold was obtained from the bed of rivers, though the extraction of gold from earth was not unknown.<sup>1304</sup> In the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1305</sup> we are told by Rāma that princes go to the forest on hunting excursions partly no doubt for the joys of the chase and partly for the flesh it will fetch but in that connection they search with great care for various metals, gems and precious stones and for gold. Washing for gold is recorded in the Black Yajurveda<sup>1306</sup> Kāthaka Saṃhitā,<sup>1307</sup> Kapiṣṭhala Saṃhitā,<sup>1308</sup> Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā<sup>1309</sup> and in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.<sup>1310</sup>

We frequently hear of various golden media of exchange like Hiranya-krṣṇala,<sup>1311</sup> Suvarṇa,<sup>1312</sup> gold pieces,<sup>1313</sup> Pādas of gold,<sup>1314</sup> Śatamāna<sup>1315</sup> and Niṣkas.<sup>1316</sup> Chips of gold used in sacrifice<sup>1317</sup> a circular gold disc or plate with 21 knobs used in sacrifice,<sup>1318</sup> golden needles with which are marked out the lines on the body of the sacrificial horse which the dissector's knife is to follow,<sup>1319</sup> golden figure of Prajāpati, Agni, the Sacrificer technically known as hiranyagarva,<sup>1320</sup> gold on the priest's finger,<sup>1321</sup> gold given as fee to the priest,<sup>1322</sup> sacrificial cauldron with gold-

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| 1302 | Chāndogya Upaniṣad, IV. 17. 7.   | 1305 | Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V. 4. 3. 24, 26 ; XII. 7. 2. 13 ; XIII. 2. 3. 2 ; V. 5. 5. 16 ; Black Yajurveda, II. 3. 11. 5 ; III. 2. 6. 3. |
| 1303 | Vedic Index, II. p. 504.   | 1310 | Atharvaveda, V. 14. 3 ; V. 17. 14 ; XX. 131. 8 ; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 22.   |
| 1304 | Atharvaveda, XII. 1. 6.  | 1317 | Atharvaveda, XVII. 11, 71   |
| 1305 | Aranyakāṇḍa, 43rd sarga.   | 1318 | White Yajurveda, X. 25 ; XII. 1, 12.  |
| 1306 | VI. 1. 7. 1.   | 1319 | White Yajurveda. XXIII. 35, 37.   |
| 1307 | XXIV. 3.   | 1320 | Ibid., XIII. 4, 16, 38 ; Black Yajurveda, IV. 1. 8 ; IV. 2. 8 ; V. 2. 7.  |
| 1308 | XXXVII. 4.   | 1321 | Atharvaveda, XVIII. 3. 18 ; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa III. 3. 2. 2.  |
| 1309 | III. 7. 5. 6.  | 1322 | Atharvaveda, IX. 5. 14.   |
| 1310 | II. 1. 1. 5. ; III. 2. 4. 9-21.  |      |   |
| 1311 | Kāthaka Saṃhitā, XI. 4 ; cf. Black Yajurveda, II. 3. 2. 1. ; Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, I. 3. 6. 7 ; Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, II. 2. 2. |      |   |
| 1312 | Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XII. 7. 2. 13.   |      |   |
| 1313 | White Yajurveda, IV. 26.   |      |   |
| 1314 | Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Kāṇḍa XIV ; Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, I. 1. 1.   |      |   |



en handles,<sup>1323</sup> golden vessel for Aśwamedha called Mahiman,<sup>1324</sup> and a ladle of pure gold<sup>1325</sup> are mentioned. In the Rāmāyaṇa we read of golden utensils,<sup>1326</sup> golden vase for containing water,<sup>1327</sup> golden pitchers,<sup>1328</sup> golden pots,<sup>1329</sup> golden water-pots used by ascetics,<sup>1330</sup> golden lamps,<sup>1331</sup> golden bedstead, golden bedstead decked with jewels,<sup>1332</sup> bedstead adorned with gold,<sup>1333</sup> seats made of gold,<sup>1334</sup> golden trappings for elephants,<sup>1335</sup> fly-flapper (chūmara) with golden handles<sup>1336</sup> and decorated with white gems,<sup>1337</sup> golden throne,<sup>1338</sup> seats bedecked with gold (Kūchana-citrita),<sup>1339</sup> altars made of gold,<sup>1340</sup> gates mounted with gold,<sup>1341</sup> gold-mounted arch of a gateway,<sup>1342</sup> golden chariots<sup>1343</sup> chariots mounted with gold and decked with jewels,<sup>1344</sup> pillars (of chariots) made of gold,<sup>1345</sup> windows (of chariots) made of gold<sup>1346</sup> golden stair case,<sup>1347</sup> gold-mounted windows,<sup>1348</sup> finger-guard (aṅguli-trāṇa) overlaid with gold,<sup>1349</sup> golden hook or goad to drive an elephant,<sup>1350</sup>

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| 1323 | White Yajurveda, XXXIII. 19.   | 1335 | Ibid, 10th, 72nd and 81st sargas ;<br>Sundarakāṇḍa, 1st and 11th sargas. |
| 1324 | Bṛhadāraṇyaka-pariśad, I. 1. 2.  | 1336 | Lankākāṇḍa, 129th sarga.   |
| 1325 | Ibid., VI. 4. 25.  | 1337 | Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 26th sarga.   |
| 1326 | Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 50th sarga ; Sundarakāṇḍa, 1st and 11th sargas ; Lankākāṇḍa, 75th sarga. | 1338 | Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 15th and 16th sargas.                                      |
| 1327 | Suvarṇa Vṅgāra in Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 14th sarga.  | 1339 | Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 26th sarga.   |
| 1328 | Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 15th sarga ; Sundarakāṇḍa, 10th and 11th sargas ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 26th sarga.                         | 1340 | Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 26th sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 1st sarga.                       |
| 1329 | Ghata in Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 14th and 65th sargas.   | 1341 | Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 10th sarga.  |
| 1330 | Svarṇakamandalu in Sundarakāṇḍa, 1st sarga.  | 1342 | Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 33rd sarga.   |
| 1331 | Sundarakāṇḍa, 9th sarga.   | 1343 | Sundarakāṇḍa, 6th sarga.   |
| 1332 | Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 16th and 19th sargas ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 33rd sarga.  | 1344 | Bālakāṇḍa, 53rd sarga.   |
| 1333 | Sundarakāṇḍa, 11th sarga.  | 1345 | Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 16th sarga ; Aranyakāṇḍa, 22nd sarga.                      |
| 1334 | Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 72nd sarga.  | 1346 | Sundarakāṇḍa, 9th sarga.   |
|      |  | 1347 | Ibid., 8th sarga.  |
|      |  | 1348 | Ibid., 9th sarga.  |
|      |  | 1349 | Ibid.  |
|      |  | 1350 | Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 99th sarga.  |
|      |  | 1351 | Bālakāṇḍa, 53rd sarga.   |

gold armour,<sup>1352</sup> weapons mounted with gold,<sup>1353</sup> sword decked with gold,<sup>1354</sup> sword with golden handles,<sup>1355</sup> bow decked with gold,<sup>1356</sup> shafts decked with gold,<sup>1357</sup> golden sheath for sword,<sup>1358</sup> golden image (of Sita),<sup>1359</sup> golden figures of fish, flowers, trees, birds, mountains and stars engraved on chariots,<sup>1360</sup> golden images engraved on chariots,<sup>1361</sup> and golden images placed in the bed-chamber of Rāvaṇa's palace.<sup>1363</sup>

Golden ornaments are frequently mentioned.<sup>1364</sup> The word *alaṃkāra* does not occur in the four Vedas but the word *añja* or *añji* meaning ornaments does occur.<sup>1365</sup> The word *alaṃkāra* occurs for the first time in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1366</sup> and in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad.<sup>1367</sup> In the Atharvaveda the following ornaments are mentioned :—(1) *Tirita*<sup>1368</sup> — In Amarakoṣa it is explained as an ornament of the head (*mukutamāṇi* or *śīrobhuṣaṇa*, a tiara-like ornament). (2) *Parihasta*<sup>1369</sup> — It was probably a bracelet or two connected rings regarded as one amulet.<sup>1370</sup> (3) *Pravarta*<sup>1371</sup> — It was an ornament, circular in shape, probably for the ears; (4) *Ring*<sup>1372</sup> (5) *Golden amulets*<sup>1373</sup> (6) *Necklace of niṣka-coins* as the term *niṣkagṛva*<sup>1374</sup> shows; (7) *Kurira*<sup>1375</sup> — According to Zimmer it means peacock. If this meaning is accepted, then *kurira* is a tiara-like ornament for the head.<sup>1376</sup> (8) *Kumba*<sup>1377</sup> — According to

<sup>1352</sup> Lankākāṇḍa, 75th sarga.

<sup>1353</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1354</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 31st sarga; Aranya-kāṇḍa, 12th sarga.

<sup>1355</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 44th sarga; Sundarakāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

<sup>1356</sup> Sundarakāṇḍa, 47th sarga.

<sup>1357</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 3rd and 20th sargas; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 16th sarga.

<sup>1358</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 12th sarga.

<sup>1359</sup> Uttarakāṇḍa, 112th sarga.

<sup>1360</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 22nd sarga.

<sup>1361</sup> Sundarakāṇḍa, 6th sarga.

<sup>1363</sup> Ibid., 9th sarga.

<sup>1368</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 15th sarga.

<sup>1364</sup> Atharvaveda, XIV. 40; White Yajurveda, XV. 50; XVII. 97; XXXIV. 52.

<sup>1366</sup> Rigveda, I. 64. 4.

<sup>1366</sup> III. 5. 1. 36; XIII. 8. 4. 7.

<sup>1367</sup> VIII. 8. 5: Pretasya śariraṃ vasa-nenālaṃkāreṇa saṃskurvanti.

<sup>1368</sup> Atharvaveda, VIII. 6. 7.

<sup>1369</sup> Ibid., VI. 81. 1, 2.

<sup>1370</sup> See Kauṣikasūtra, XXXV. 11.

<sup>1371</sup> Atharvaveda, XV. 2. 1.

<sup>1372</sup> Ibid., XX. 128. 6, 7.

<sup>1373</sup> Ibid., I. 35; V. 28; XIX. 26.

<sup>1374</sup> Ibid., V. 14. 3.

<sup>1375</sup> Ibid., VI. 138. 2; XIV. 1. 8.

<sup>1376</sup> Compare Āpastamba Śrautasūtra: 'Kumba and Kurira on the patni's head' Prof. Subimal Sarkar in his Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India takes it to be a kind of horn-shaped coiffure (p. 72).

<sup>1377</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 138. 3.

Sāyana it was used by women in hair-culture; probably it is comb.<sup>1378</sup> (9) Opaśa<sup>1379</sup> — It was used for adorning the head. Roth thinks that it was a corruption of aba + paśa and hence meant hair-tape or hair-net.<sup>1380</sup> (10) Lalāma — It was a tiara worn on the forehead like a frontlet. (11) Lalāmya, frontlet (12) Lalamagu, frontlet (13) Surukma, an ornament for the chest (14) Rukmastarana, an ornament for the chest usually of crescent shape. (15) Nīnīha, an ornament for the waist. (16) Devāñjana (17) Nalada (18) Madhūlaka (19) Siman (20) Susra (21) Swandāñji (22) Haritasraj or Hiranyasraj. The White Yajurveda refers to the gold-smith<sup>1381</sup> and the jeweller<sup>1382</sup> and to gold ornaments.<sup>1383</sup> It refers to a gold ornament, perhaps a chain, round the neck of the sacrificer,<sup>1384</sup> to Opaśa,<sup>1385</sup> to gold worn as amulet<sup>1386</sup> and to golden trappings for horses.<sup>1387</sup> The Black Yajurveda, refers to Opaśa,<sup>1388</sup> Sraj, Puṇḍarisraj and Voga. In the Kāthopanīśad<sup>1389</sup> we find that Yama offered to Nachiketas an ornament called Sūkā. The Tāṇḍamahābrāhmaṇa mentions the ornament called Sraj made of gold. The term niṣkagṛva in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa undoubtedly refers to the practice of wearing necklaces of niṣka coins. The Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa refers not only to Opaśa<sup>1390</sup> but also to necklaces of silver niṣka coins worn by the Vratyas.<sup>1391</sup> We hear of Rukmapāśa in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,<sup>1392</sup> a chain by means of which Rukma was worn on the breast. Karṇaśovana, mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, literally means an adornment for the ear, hence earring. In the Chāndogya Upanīśad<sup>1393</sup> we read of a

<sup>1378</sup> Prof. Subimal Sarkar in his *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India* takes it to mean a style of hair-dressing (p. 73).

<sup>1379</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 138. 1.

<sup>1380</sup> Compare: 'A net that hath thousand eyes spread over the roof of a house' in Atharvaveda, IX. 3. 8. See also ante, fn. No. 444.

<sup>1381</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 17.

<sup>1382</sup> Ibid., XXX. 7.

<sup>1383</sup> White Yajurveda, XV. 50; XXXIV. 52.

<sup>1384</sup> Ibid., XXII. 1.

<sup>1385</sup> Ibid., XI. 56.

<sup>1386</sup> Ibid., XXXIV. 50.

<sup>1387</sup> Ibid., XXV. 39.

<sup>1388</sup> Black Yajurveda, IV. 1. 5. 3.

<sup>1389</sup> I. 16: 'Tabaiba nāmā vabīṭāya-maṇiḥ sūkāñchemā manekarū-pāṃ gṛhāṇa.'

<sup>1390</sup> IV. 1. 1; cf. dvy-opaśāḥ in XIII. 4. 3.

<sup>1391</sup> Ibid., XVII. 1. 14.

<sup>1392</sup> VI. 7. 1. 7.

<sup>1393</sup> IV. 2. 1—4.

necklace offered to Raikva which he politely refused to accept. Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā<sup>1394</sup> also refers to opaśa.

In the Rāmāyaṇa we find mention of golden diadem (kirita),<sup>1395</sup> golden diadem bedecked with gems and pearls;<sup>1396</sup> kuṇḍala, earring worn by both men<sup>1397</sup> and women,<sup>1398</sup> golden kuṇḍalas bedecked with diamond and vaidūryamaṇi,<sup>1399</sup> maṇikuṇḍala worn by men as well,<sup>1400</sup> karṇāvaraṇa (earring or ornament for the ear) called trikarṇa;<sup>1401</sup> golden bracelets (kāñchana keyūra worn on the upper arm by both men<sup>1402</sup> and women,<sup>1403</sup> karāvaraṇa (bangles) decked with corals,<sup>1404</sup> hastāvaraṇa worn by king Daśaratha,<sup>1405</sup> valaya, (armlet, bracelet) worn by men<sup>1406</sup> as well as women,<sup>1407</sup> kanaka aṅgada, golden bracelet worn by both men<sup>1408</sup> and women<sup>1409</sup>; aṅguriyaka, ring for the fingers<sup>1410</sup>; golden amulet (kavaca),<sup>1411</sup> golden amulet set with vaidūryamaṇi<sup>1412</sup>; necklace made of gold<sup>1413</sup>; kāñcana-mālā worn by king Bālī on the neck,<sup>1414</sup> pearl necklace,<sup>1415</sup> necklace of Indranilamaṇi,<sup>1416</sup> necklace of precious stones strung together with a golden thread,<sup>1417</sup> necklace of vaidūryamaṇi,<sup>1418</sup> kaṇṭha-hāra, a kind of ornament for the neck,<sup>1419</sup> hemasūtra, a golden chain,

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| 1394 | II. 7. 5.   | 1406 | Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd sarga.   |
| 1395 | Rāmāyaṇa, Aranyakāṇḍa, 38th sarga.  | 1407 | Sundarakāṇḍa, 9th sarga.  |
| 1396 | Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 10th sarga.  | 1408 | Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd sarga; Sundarakāṇḍa, 10th sarga.   |
| 1397 | Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd and 43rd sargas; Sundarakāṇḍa, 8th and 10th sargas; Aranyakāṇḍa, 38th sarga; Lankākāṇḍa, 65th sarga. | 1409 | Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd sarga; Sundarakāṇḍa, 10th sarga.   |
| 1398 | Sundarakāṇḍa, 10th and 15th sargas.   | 1410 | Sundarakāṇḍa, 10th sarga; Lankākāṇḍa, 65th and 128th sargas.  |
| 1399 | Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 10th sarga.  | 1411 | Lankākāṇḍa, 65th sarga.   |
| 1400 | Bālakāṇḍa, 14th sarga.  | 1412 | Aranyakāṇḍa, 64th sarga.  |
| 1401 | Sundarakāṇḍa, 15th sarga.   | 1413 | Bālakāṇḍa, 53rd sarga.  |
| 1402 | Bālakāṇḍa, 15th sarga: Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd sarga; Lankākāṇḍa, 65th and 130th sargas.                                     | 1414 | Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 11th sarga.  |
| 1403 | Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd sarga; Sundarakāṇḍa 1st and 11th sargas.   | 1415 | Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 9th sarga; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 40th sarga; Sundarakāṇḍa, 9th sarga; Lankākāṇḍa, 130th sarga. |
| 1404 | Sundarakāṇḍa, 15th sarga.   | 1416 | Sundarakāṇḍa, 15th sarga.   |
| 1405 | Bālakāṇḍa, 14th sarga.  | 1417 | Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd sarga.   |
|      |   | 1418 | Sundarakāṇḍa, 9th sarga.  |
|      |   | 1419 | Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 9th sarga.   |

probably to be worn on the neck<sup>1420</sup> *chandrahāra*, a kind of necklace worn by both men<sup>1421</sup> and women,<sup>1422</sup> golden chain for sheep<sup>1423</sup>; *kāñchidūma*, a girdle-like ornament for the waist<sup>1424</sup>; *kiñkiṇī-mālā*, a girdle of small bells,<sup>1425</sup> *mekhalā*, an ornament for the waist and loins<sup>1426</sup>; and *nūpura*, an ornament for the ankles and feet.<sup>1427</sup>

Among the articles made of silver, the *Atharvaveda*<sup>1428</sup> mentions silver amulets which are said to grant vigour to the wearer.<sup>1429</sup> The *White Yajurveda*<sup>1430</sup> mentions silver needles for marking out the lines on the body of the sacrificial horse which the dissector's knife is to follow. Silver plates used in sacrifice are mentioned in the *Black Yajurveda* and in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. The *Bṛhadīranyakopaniṣad*<sup>1431</sup> mentions the silver vessel called *Mahimaṇu* used in the horse-sacrifice. The *Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* refers, as we have already seen, to necklaces made of silver *niṣkas* worn by the *Vṛātyas*. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* silver utensils,<sup>1432</sup> silver pitchers,<sup>1433</sup> seats made of silver,<sup>1434</sup> altars made of silver,<sup>1435</sup> bedsteads made of silver,<sup>1436</sup> pillars mounted with silver,<sup>1437</sup> silver-mounted arch of a gateway,<sup>1438</sup> windows made of silver,<sup>1439</sup> images of silver engraved on chariots,<sup>1440</sup> and images of silver placed in the bed-chamber of *Rāvaṇa*'s palace<sup>1441</sup> are mentioned.

We have already seen that the third metal *ayas* is separated from *loha* and *śyāmanam*<sup>1442</sup> and according to Schrader meant pure dark copper.<sup>1443</sup>

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| 1420 | Sundarakāṇḍa, 9th sarga.   | kāṇḍa, 91st sarga; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 50th sarga. |  |
| 1421 | Lankākāṇḍa, 65th sarga.  |   |  |
| 1422 | Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd sarga.  | 1434  | Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 15th sarga.  |
| 1423 | Ibid., 14th sarga.   | 1435  | Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 10th sarga.  |
| 1424 | Sundarakāṇḍa, 9th sarga.   | 1436  | Ibid.  |
| 1425 | Ibid.  | 1437  | Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 33rd sarga.   |
| 1426 | Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 78th sarga.  | 1438  | Aranyakāṇḍa, 55th sarga.   |
| 1427 | Aranyakāṇḍa, 52nd sarga; Sundarakāṇḍa, 1st, 9th and 11th sargas. | 1439  | Sundarakāṇḍa, 6th sarga.   |
| 1428 | V. 28. 1.  | 1440  | Aranyakāṇḍa, 55th sarga.   |
| 1429 | Ibid., V. 28. 5.   | 1441  | Sundarakāṇḍa, 6th sarga.   |
| 1430 | XXIII. 35, 37.   | 1442  | Ibid., 9th sarga.  |
| 1431 | I. 1. 2.   | 1443  | White Yajurveda, XVIII. 13; Black Yajurveda, IV. 7. 5.                                       |
| 1432 | XVII. 1. 14.   | 1444  | Compare: Latin <i>aes</i> = Goth <i>aiz</i> = Zend <i>ayarih</i> , meaning pure dark copper. |
| 1433 | Bālākāṇḍa, 53rd sarga; Ayodhyā-                                  |   |  |

Loha occurs in the Atharvaveda,<sup>1445</sup> the White Yajurveda,<sup>1446</sup> the Black Yajurveda<sup>1447</sup> and in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad.<sup>1448</sup> The words Lohamaya and Lohāyasa occur in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.<sup>1449</sup> According to Schrader<sup>1450</sup> loha originally meant copper but later it was used to denote iron. Śyāma is mentioned in the Atharvaveda,<sup>1451</sup> apparently meaning iron as the word occurs along with asi meaning a sword. It is also mentioned in the White Yajurveda,<sup>1452</sup> Black Yajurveda,<sup>1453</sup> Kāṭhaka Samhitā,<sup>1454</sup> Kapiṣṭhala Samhitā<sup>1455</sup> and in the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā.<sup>1456</sup>

We have distinct references to the iron-smelter<sup>1457</sup> and the blacksmith.<sup>1458</sup> The Maitrāyaṇa-Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad<sup>1459</sup> thus describes the work of the blacksmith :—"Even as a ball of iron pervaded (overcome) by fire and hammered by smiths, becomes manifold (assumes different forms such as crooked, round, large, small) thus the Elemental Self pervaded (overcome) by the inner man and hammered by the qualities becomes manifold." The softening of silver by means of gold, of tin by means of silver, of lead by means of tin, of loha (iron) by means of lead was also known.<sup>1460</sup> Whatever be the real meaning of āyas, loha and śyāmam these metals were extensively used in this period. Thus we read of receptacle that has been hammered or formed with a tool of āyas,<sup>1461</sup> metal vessels,<sup>1462</sup> metal jug,<sup>1461</sup> a pair of shears with sharp blades,<sup>1463</sup> sickle to cut the ripened grain,<sup>1464</sup> knife,<sup>1465</sup> spade to dig up the hardest soil

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<sup>1445</sup> XI. 3. 17.

<sup>1446</sup> XVIII. 13.

<sup>1447</sup> IV. 7. 5.

<sup>1448</sup> IV. 17. 7.

<sup>1449</sup> V. 4. 12; XIII. 2. 2. 8.

<sup>1450</sup> Prehistoric Antiquities, p. 212.

<sup>1451</sup> IX. 5. 4; XI. 3. 7.

<sup>1452</sup> XVIII. 13.

<sup>1453</sup> IV. 7. 5.

<sup>1454</sup> XVIII. 10.

<sup>1455</sup> XVIII. 10.

<sup>1456</sup> II. 11. 5.

<sup>1457</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 14.

<sup>1458</sup> Ibid., XVI. 27.

<sup>1459</sup> III. 3.

<sup>1460</sup> Chāndogya Upaniṣad, IV. 17. 7.

<sup>1461</sup> White Yajurveda, XXVI. 26.

<sup>1462</sup> Bhāṣya Upaniṣad, VI. 4. 13; Rāmāyaṇa, Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 33rd sarga; Sandarakāṇḍa, 11th sarga.

<sup>1463</sup> Atharvaveda, XX. 127. 4.

<sup>1464</sup> White Yajurveda, XII. 68.

<sup>1465</sup> Ibid., IV. 1; VI. 11.

(evidently of metal,<sup>1466</sup> *dātra*, bill hook,<sup>1467</sup> hatchet,<sup>1468</sup> iron axe,<sup>1469</sup> iron hook,<sup>1470</sup> iron razor<sup>1471</sup> with razor-case,<sup>1472</sup> pair of nail scissors,<sup>1473</sup> iron nets,<sup>1474</sup> fetters wrought of iron,<sup>1475</sup> *louha-mañjuṣī*, iron box or trunk<sup>1476</sup> and collyrium-pots, probably made of metal.<sup>1477</sup> Among articles for use in sacrifice we read of the sacrificial hatchet,<sup>1478</sup> sickle to cut and trim the sacred grass,<sup>1479</sup> lead needles (according to the commentator Mahidhara copper or iron needles) to mark out the lines on the body of the sacrificial horse which the dissector's knife is to follow,<sup>1480</sup> bell, evidently made of metal<sup>1481</sup> and threads of iron for use in amulets.<sup>1482</sup> Among articles for purposes of war we read of *phāla*, blade of an arrow,<sup>1483</sup> sword,<sup>1484</sup> *varman*, armour, coat of mail,<sup>1485</sup> armour for elephants and horses,<sup>1486</sup>. Iron forts<sup>1487</sup> and iron castles<sup>1488</sup> used in a

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| <p><sup>1466</sup> Aitareya Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad, III. 1. 4; <i>khanitra</i>, hoe, spade in Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 37th sarga; <i>tañka</i>, hoe, spade in Ibid., 80th sarga.</p> <p><sup>1467</sup> Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 80th sarga.</p> <p><sup>1468</sup> Chāndogya Upaniṣad, VI. 16. 1.</p> <p><sup>1469</sup> Atharvaveda, VII. 115. 1; VI. 141. 2; II. 12. 3; White Yajurveda, V. 42; VI. 15; Rāmāyaṇa, Bālākāṇḍa, 54th sarga; Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 80th sarga.</p> <p><sup>1470</sup> Atharvaveda, VII. 115. 1.</p> <p><sup>1471</sup> Ibid., VI. 68. 1, 3; White Yajurveda, III. 63; XV. 4; Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, III. 3. 2; Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, IV. 20. Compare "Just as the sharp edge of a razor is difficult to pass over, thus the wise say the path (to Self) is hard" — Kathopaniṣad, I. 3. 14.</p> <p><sup>1472</sup> Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, IV. 20.</p> <p><sup>1473</sup> <i>Kārshnāyasam</i> in Chāndogya Upaniṣad, VI. 1. 6.</p> <p><sup>1474</sup> Atharvaveda, XIX. 66. 1.</p> | <p><sup>1475</sup> Ibid., VI. 63. 2; VI. 84. 3. White Yajurveda, XII. 63.</p> <p><sup>1476</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Bālākāṇḍa, 67th sarga; cf. <i>Peṭaka</i> in Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 36th and 37th sargas.</p> <p><sup>1477</sup> Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga.</p> <p><sup>1478</sup> Atharvaveda, VII. 28.</p> <p><sup>1479</sup> Ibid., XII. 2. 31; cf. Black Yajurveda, I. 1. 2.</p> <p><sup>1480</sup> White Yajurveda, XXIII. 37.</p> <p><sup>1481</sup> Maitrāyaṇa-Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad, VI. 22.</p> <p><sup>1482</sup> Atharvaveda, V. 28. 1.</p> <p><sup>1483</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 36th sarga.</p> <p><sup>1484</sup> Kathopaniṣad, II. 6. 4; Rāmāyaṇa, Bālākāṇḍa, 54th sarga; Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 23rd, 43rd and 52nd sargas.</p> <p><sup>1485</sup> Atharvaveda, V. I. 118. 1; VIII. 5. 18; IX. 2. 16; XIX. 58. 4; XX. 18. 6; White Yajurveda, XIII. 35; XVII. 49; XXIX. 38, 45; Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 40th and 91st sarga.</p> <p><sup>1486</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Lankākāṇḍa, 75th sarga.</p> <p><sup>1487</sup> Atharvaveda, XIX. 58. 4.</p> <p><sup>1488</sup> White Yajurveda, V. 8.</p> |
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figurative sense are also mentioned. Pillars made of iron,<sup>1489</sup> ornaments made of iron worn by king Triśaṅku in his chandāla dress<sup>1490</sup> and images of tigers made of various metals<sup>1491</sup> are also mentioned.

We also read of the use of mixed metals (yougikadhātu) in this age. Bell-metal (kāṁsya) vessels, made of an alloy of copper and tin are mentioned in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad.<sup>1492</sup> In the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1493</sup> we are told that after the marriage ceremony of his sons was over, king Daśaratha on reaching home presented four Brahmins with cows together with calves and bell-metal vessels for milching (kāṁsya-dohanabhāṇḍa). Vessels made of brass or pittala, an alloy of copper and zinc are mentioned in the Maitrāyaṇa-Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad.<sup>1494</sup> In the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1495</sup> we find a reference to brass when Khara angrily speaks to Rāma thus : "Just as the gold-like pittala (brass) is blackened when put to fire, so are you showing only your hollowness by self-laudation."

Whether alchemy was known in this period is not certain. Alchemy is the process by means of which an inferior metal is converted into a superior one. We find reference to this process in the 37th sarga of the Bālakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa where the origin of metals specially of gold (jātarūpa) is discussed. But some scholars look upon this passage as a later addition (prakṣipta).

**The art of the jeweller** — The maṇikāra or jeweller is mentioned in the list of human victims of Puruṣamedha in the White Yajurveda.<sup>1496</sup> In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1497</sup> the word used for jewellery is kacha which may mean glass or glass-beads ; and it would be unreasonable to suppose that those who set glass on gold did not follow the same procedure with diamonds, and other precious stones for which they had names and which they knew and prized.<sup>1498</sup> When Bharata left Ayodhyā to bring back

<sup>1489</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 63. 3.

<sup>1490</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 58th sarga.

<sup>1491</sup> Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 15th sarga.

<sup>1492</sup> V. 2. 8.

<sup>1493</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, 72nd sarga.

<sup>1494</sup> VI. 22.

<sup>1495</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 29th sarga.

<sup>1496</sup> XXX. 7.

<sup>1497</sup> III. 665.

<sup>1498</sup> Manu ordains a fine for piercing fine gems like diamonds and rubies and for boring pearls or inferior gems improperly.



Rāma from the forest he was followed among others by the maṇikāra.<sup>1499</sup> As a matter of fact, the Rāmāyaṇa which treats of royal families generally as contrasted with the ritual literature mentions a large number of jewellery used in this period. Thus we read of golden diadem (kirita) set with jewels and pearls,<sup>1500</sup> golden kuṇḍalas (earrings) set with diamonds and vaidūryamaṇi,<sup>1501</sup> maṇikuṇḍala,<sup>1502</sup> pearl necklace,<sup>1503</sup> necklace of Indranīlamanī,<sup>1504</sup> necklace of precious stones strung together with a golden thread,<sup>1505</sup> necklace of vaidūryamaṇi,<sup>1506</sup> golden amulet set with vaidūryamaṇi,<sup>1507</sup> hastāvaraṇa (bangles) set with corals,<sup>1508</sup> various images decked with gold, silver, diamonds, pearls and corals,<sup>1509</sup> images of birds decked with silver, coral and vaidūryamaṇi,<sup>1510</sup> images of serpents decked with gems,<sup>1511</sup> golden seats decked with gems,<sup>1512</sup> seats decked with gold and gems,<sup>1513</sup> bedstead decked with various gems,<sup>1514</sup> golden bedstead decked with gems,<sup>1515</sup> bed-sheet decked with gems and vaidūryamaṇi,<sup>1516</sup> crystal altar decked with various gems,<sup>1517</sup> altars decked with white gems like indranīlamanī and mahānīlamanī,<sup>1518</sup> fly-flapper (chāmara) decked with white gems,<sup>1519</sup> chariot adorned with gems and corals,<sup>1520</sup> chariot mounted with gold and decked with jewels,<sup>1521</sup> and silver pillars decked with gold, gems and pearls.<sup>1522</sup>

We may refer in this connection to prakāśa which is frequently mentioned in the Taittiriya, Śatapatha and Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇas. It means

1499	Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga.	1510	Ibid., 7th sarga.
1500	Ibid, Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 10th sarga.	1511	Ibid.
1501	Ibid.	1512	Ibid., 11th sarga.
1502	Bālakāṇḍa, 14th sarga.	1513	Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 50th sarga.
1503	Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 9th sarga ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 40th sarga ; Sundarakāṇḍa, 9th sarga ; Lankākāṇḍa, 130th sarga.	1514	Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 76th sarga ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 50th sarga.
1504	Sundarakāṇḍa, 15th sarga.	1515	Sundarakāṇḍa, 11th sarga.
1505	Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd sarga.	1516	Ibid., 10th sarga.
1506	Sundarakāṇḍa, 9th sarga.	1517	Ibid.
1507	Araṇyakāṇḍa, 64th sarga.	1518	Ibid., 9th sarga.
1508	Sundarakāṇḍa, 15th sarga.	1519	Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 15th sarga.
1509	Ibid, 9th sarga.	1520	Lankākāṇḍa, 11th sarga.
		1521	Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 16th sarga ; Araṇyakāṇḍa, 53rd sarga.
		1522	Sundarakāṇḍa, 9th sarga.

looking glass. Geldner thinks that *prāvepa* in *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*<sup>1523</sup> means the same thing. The Upaniṣads refer to polished mirrors<sup>1524</sup>. The *Rāmāyaṇa* also refers to polished mirrors (*sumārjita darpaṇa*).<sup>1525</sup> To people acquainted with crystals and metal foil the idea of setting small plates of crystal on foil for the manufacture of looking glasses would be easy enough. Polished metal plates seem, however, to be more frequently used and in the present day orthodox people prefer them to foiled glass in connection with marriage and other religious ceremonies. Such plates are usually made of silver. The mirror mentioned in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*<sup>1526</sup> was a metal disc.<sup>1527</sup> The ancient Egyptians preferred copper or an alloy of copper and tin; but the Hindus hold that alloy as impure and unfit for religious purposes. The word *kācha* for glass occurs in the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa*<sup>1528</sup> and seeing that the Ceylonese who borrowed all the arts of civilised life from the Hindus, make mention in the *Dwipavaṃśa* of a "glass pinnacle" placed on the top of the Ruanwelle dagoba by Suidaitissa, brother of Dutugaimuna, in the second century B.C. and of a "glass mirror" in the third century B.C.<sup>1529</sup> and Pliny describes the glass of India being superior to all others from the circumstance of its being made of pounded crystal<sup>1530</sup> it would not be presumptuous to believe that it was, in ancient times used in India in the formation of looking glasses; but we have nothing as yet to show that mercury was used in fixing the foil on it. The looking glasses used in the decoration of the marble bath in the palace at Agra, were foiled with a film of lead and tin poured in a melted state in large glass globes which were afterwards broken to form small mirrors. This mode of foiling is still in common practice in many parts of India.

<sup>1523</sup> IV. 4. 8.

<sup>1524</sup> *Kāthopaniṣad*, II. 6. 5; *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, II. 14; *Aitareya Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III. 2. 4. 10.

<sup>1525</sup> *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* 91st sarga.

<sup>1526</sup> II. 14.

<sup>1527</sup> "As a metal disc(mirror) tarnished by dust, shines bright again after

it has been cleansed, so is the one incarnate person satisfied and free from grief, after he has seen the real nature of the self (Max Muller's Translation in the S. B. E. Vol. XV. p. 242).

<sup>1528</sup> III. 665.

<sup>1529</sup> Tennet's Ceylon, I. p. 454.

<sup>1530</sup> Lib. XXXVI., C. 66.

(3) **Working in wood**—The ordinary carpenter made wooden vessels, implements and furniture for domestic as well as ritual use. Ladles of various kinds—the *sruva*<sup>1531</sup> (small ladle used specially for Soma libation), the *sruc*<sup>1532</sup> (large wooden ladle), *dhruvā*<sup>1533</sup> (having the largest bowl used in pouring libations of clarified butter into fire), the *juhu*<sup>1534</sup> and the *upabhr̥t*<sup>1535</sup> are frequently mentioned. Wooden mace used in sacrifice,<sup>1536</sup> wooden sacrificial spade<sup>1537</sup> with which earth is to be dug to form two square beds for the chief cauldron called *mahāvira* and *gharma* to rest on, large wooden soma reservoir called *droṇa-kalasa*,<sup>1538</sup> four-cornered sacrificial cups of *khadira* wood<sup>1539</sup> mortar-shaped cup of *palāśa* wood<sup>1540</sup> cup made of *udumvara* wood,<sup>1541</sup> wooden soma cups,<sup>1542</sup> wooden covers for sacrificial vessels,<sup>1543</sup> wooden mortar<sup>1544</sup> and pestle<sup>1545</sup> for extracting soma juice, wooden mortar and pestle for pounding out rice,<sup>1546</sup> wooden pegs or wedges with which the pressing stones are beaten<sup>1547</sup> wooden pegs for stretching out skin or woven cloth<sup>1548</sup> wooden needles used in stitching together the folding doors of the cart-shed,<sup>1549</sup> fire-shovel or poker made of *palāśa* wood,<sup>1550</sup> wooden instrument called *sphya*, shaped like a sword used in stirring up boiled rice, drawing lines on the ground and other sacrificial purposes,<sup>1551</sup> *yūpas* or sacrificial

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| <p><sup>1531</sup> White Yajurveda, I. 29; II. 20; XVII. 77; Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upani- VI. 3. 13.</p> <p><sup>1532</sup> White Yajurveda, I. 29; II. 20; XVII. 79.</p> <p><sup>1533</sup> Atharvaveda, XVIII. 5; Black Yajurveda, III. 5. 7.</p> <p><sup>1534</sup> Atharvaveda, V. 17. 5; XVIII. 5; Black Yajurveda, III. 5. 7.</p> <p><sup>1535</sup> Atharvaveda, XVIII. 5; Black yajurveda, III. 5. 7. 2.</p> <p><sup>1536</sup> Atharvaveda, VII. 28.</p> <p><sup>1537</sup> White Yajurveda, V. 22; XI. 10; XXXVII. 1; Aitareya Āraṇyaka III. 1. 4.</p> <p><sup>1538</sup> White Yajurveda, VII. 29; VIII. 42; XIX. 27; Black Yajurveda, III. 1. 6. 1.</p> | <p><sup>1539</sup> White Yajurveda. VIII. 33.</p> <p><sup>1540</sup> Ibid., XIX. 33.</p> <p><sup>1541</sup> Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, VI. 3. 1; VI. 3. 13.</p> <p><sup>1542</sup> White Yajurveda, XIX. 27.</p> <p><sup>1543</sup> Atharvaveda, XVIII. 4. 53.</p> <p><sup>1544</sup> White Yajurveda, I. 14; XIII. 33.</p> <p><sup>1545</sup> Ibid., I. 15; XIII. 33.</p> <p><sup>1546</sup> Atharvaveda, XII. 15.</p> <p><sup>1547</sup> White Yajurveda, I. 16.</p> <p><sup>1548</sup> Ibid., V. 16.</p> <p><sup>1549</sup> Ibid., V. 21.</p> <p><sup>1550</sup> Ibid., I. 17.</p> <p><sup>1551</sup> Ibid., I. 24; Black Yajurveda, I. 1. 9.</p> |
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posts,<sup>1552</sup> timber posts called svaru,<sup>1553</sup> drupad<sup>1554</sup> and vanaspati<sup>1555</sup> (evidently a dressed and entire śāla trunk) are referred to.

Mention is also made of seats made of udumvara wood<sup>1556</sup> and of thrones of khadira wood.<sup>1557</sup> Among these the tālpa is thus described in the Atharvaveda :

“Bhaga hath formed the four legs of the tālpa,  
Wrought the four pieces that compose the frame-work.  
Tvaṣṭar (skilled carpenters) hath decked the straps  
that go across it.<sup>1558</sup>

Being the nuptial bed-stead<sup>1559</sup> it was usually made of udumvara wood.<sup>1560</sup> The piṭha (alluded to in the mention of piṭhasarpin<sup>1561</sup> cripple) was evidently a wooden seat. The epithet proṣṭha-śāya<sup>1562</sup> shows that proṣṭha was something like a high and broad bench.<sup>1563</sup> In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1564</sup> proṣṭha is, therefore, distinguished from tālpa and vahya. As the name suggests vahya is a couch of light structure that could be carried about when necessary ; it seems to have been an essential item of furniture for the bridal chamber,<sup>1565</sup> having an embroidered coverlet.<sup>1566</sup> Āsandi which means either a shining seat or the occupier of a shining seat is referred to in the Atharvaveda in connection with not only the inauguration of the Vrātya chief<sup>1567</sup> but also a marriage-ceremony.<sup>1568</sup> In the White Yajurveda<sup>1569</sup> āsandi is specially associated with kingship, being

- <sup>1552</sup> Atharvaveda, VII. 30 ; XII. 1. 38 ;  
XII. 3. 33 ; White Yajurveda, Bk.  
V. 41-43 and Bk. VI. 1-6 ; Black  
Yajurveda, VI. 6. 4. ; Rāmāyaṇa,  
Bālakāṇḍa, 14th sarga. Aitareya  
Brāhmaṇa II. 1 ; Kauṣītaki Brāh-  
maṇa, X. 1.  
<sup>1553</sup> Atharvaveda, IV. 24. 4 ; XII. 1. 13.  
<sup>1554</sup> Ibid, VI. 63. 3 ; VI. 115. 2 ; XIX.  
47. 9 ; White Yajurveda, XX. 20.  
<sup>1555</sup> Ibid., IX. 3. 11 ; Black Yajurveda,  
VI. 2. 8. 4.  
<sup>1556</sup> Aitareya Āraṇyaka, I. 2. 4. 10.  
<sup>1557</sup> White Yajurveda, X. 26.  
<sup>1558</sup> Atharvaveda, XIV. 1. 60.

- <sup>1559</sup> Ibid., XIV. 1. 31.  
<sup>1560</sup> Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, I. 2. 6. 5.  
<sup>1561</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 21 ; 1 lack  
Yajurveda, III. 4. 17. 1.  
<sup>1562</sup> Atharvaveda, IV. 5. 3=Rigveda,  
VII. 55. 8.  
<sup>1563</sup> Compare vernacular paithā, a broad  
plank resting on two legs in the  
Gangetic river boats.  
<sup>1564</sup> II. 7. 17. 1.  
<sup>1565</sup> Atharvaveda, IV. 20. 3.  
<sup>1566</sup> Ibid., XIV. 2. 30.  
<sup>1567</sup> Ibid., XV. 3. 2. ff.  
<sup>1568</sup> Ibid., XIV. 2. 6.  
<sup>1569</sup> XIX. 86.

regarded as the 'womb of *rājanyas*'<sup>1570</sup> and its use in ritual by a sacrificial priest ensures *samrājya* for his client<sup>1571</sup>; but the qualificatory term *rājāsandi*<sup>1572</sup> shows that the humbler *āsandi*'s were also in use. The *āsandi* is usually made of sacred *udumvara* wood,<sup>1573</sup> sometimes of *khadirawood*.<sup>1574</sup> It had four legs.<sup>1575</sup> It was sometimes square,<sup>1576</sup> and sometimes rectangular<sup>1577</sup> in shape. It was sometimes a span high,<sup>1578</sup> sometimes knee high<sup>1579</sup> or navel high.<sup>1580</sup> The *Vrātya* chief's *āsandi* described in the *Atharvaveda*<sup>1581</sup> had framework of wood and woven straps, two (fore) feet, two (back) feet; two lengthwise and two crosswise pieces; forward and cross *tantus* (wooven straps or cords), and *upśraya*, the support or back of the seat; its adjuncts were *āstarāṇa*, coverlet, *āsāda*, seat proper i.e., the cushion for sitting on, and *upvarhāṇa*, cushion for leaning against. The *paryāṅka* is a later development being first mentioned in the later Vedic texts.<sup>1582</sup> It had four legs and was furnished with *śiṛṣaṇya*, head-piece of the couch, *upaśrī*, the supporting back of the couch and *ucchīrṣaka*, cushion and pillow for the head.

In addition to the ordinary carpenter we find the *Rathakāra*<sup>1583</sup> who besides making chariots for purposes of war<sup>1584</sup> and race made carts,<sup>1585</sup> waggons<sup>1586</sup> and carriages.<sup>1587</sup> References to boats<sup>1588</sup>

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| 1570 | Cf. also White Yajurveda, XX. 1.   | 1581 | XV. 3. 2ff.  |
| 1571 | Black Yajurveda VII. 5. 8. 5.  | 1582 | Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, I. 5; Śāṅkhyāyana Āraṇyaka, III, Compare Jaim. Brāh. II. 24.   |
| 1572 | White Yajurveda, XIX. 16.  | 1583 | Atharvaveda, III. 5. 6.  |
| 1573 | Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 5, 6, 12 and 17, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa III. 4. 26 ff; V. 2. 1. 22; VI. 7. 1. 12ff; XIV. 1. 3. 8ff. | 1584 | White Yajurveda, XXIX. 45.   |
| 1574 | Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V. 4. 4. 1 ff.   | 1585 | Ibid., I. 8; II. 19; IV. 33.   |
| 1575 | Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 12 and 17; Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, I. 5; Śāṅkhyāyana Āraṇyaka, III.,                                | 1586 | Black Yajurveda, I. 8. 18; Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, IV. 4. 1. 35.   |
| 1576 | Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, VI. 7. 1. 12 ff; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 5 and 6.   | 1587 | Atharvaveda, XX. 125. 3; White Yajurveda, XII. 20; Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, IV. 2. 1.   |
| 1577 | Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 12.   | 1588 | Atharvaveda, II. 36. 5; III. 6. 7; IV. 33. 7, 8; V. 4. 4; V. 19. 18; XX. 46. 2; XX. 72. 1; Black Yajurveda, V. 3. 10. 1; Aitareya Āraṇyaka I. 2. 4. 6 etc. |
| 1578 | Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, VI. 7. 1. 12ff.  |      |  |
| 1579 | Ibid., XII. 8. 3. 4ff.   |      |  |
| 1580 | Ibid., III. 3. 4. 26ff.  |      |  |

presuppose the existence of boat builders. Boats of bigger size, having two rudders (nau-maṇḍa)<sup>1589</sup> came to be known in this period.

The Rāmāyaṇa refers to specialised carpenters<sup>1590</sup> and to the manufacture of boxes (peṭaka)<sup>1591</sup> wooden sandals<sup>1592</sup> and artificial hills made of wood.<sup>1593</sup>

(4) **Leather-work**—The hide-dresser is mentioned in the White Yajurveda<sup>1594</sup> and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1595</sup> seems to refer to the stretching of hides with pegs, while the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad<sup>1596</sup> refers to the rolling up of hides. The importance of the hide-dresser is evident from the fact that skins of aṇa (goat) kṛṣṇasāra (the black antelope), hariṇa (deer) and the eta (spotted deer) were in common and ritual use. Thus the religious student (brahmacārī) is clad in the black antelope skin.<sup>1597</sup> The gods dressed in deer skins<sup>1598</sup> used to alarm their enemies.<sup>1598</sup> The Kukundhas and the Kukūrabhas used to dress themselves in hides and skins.<sup>1599</sup> Skins of deer were used as coverings<sup>1600</sup> and as seat-spreads.<sup>1601</sup> According to ritual custom the Brahmin priest goes clad in goat's skin.<sup>1602</sup> Goat skin was also used as coverlet for āsandi's.<sup>1603</sup> A tradition of wearing cowhides in primitive times is hinted in a passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.<sup>1604</sup> Cowhide also served as a ritual seat for the newly married couple. The skin of the black antelope was used as coverlet for āsandi's<sup>1605</sup> as well as for pressing soma and bruising and husking the rice used in oblations.<sup>1606</sup> The tiger-skin was used as

<sup>1589</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, II. 3. 3. 15.

<sup>1590</sup> Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga.

<sup>1591</sup> Ibid., 36th and 37th sargas.

<sup>1592</sup> Ibid., 91st sarga.

<sup>1593</sup> Sundarakāṇḍa 6th sarga.

<sup>1594</sup> XXX. 15.

<sup>1595</sup> V. 15; compare Griffith's White Yajurveda, p. 43 fn.

<sup>1596</sup> VI. 20.

<sup>1597</sup> Atharvaveda, XI. 5. 5.

<sup>1598</sup> Ibid., V. 21. 7.

<sup>1599</sup> Ibid., VIII. 6. 11.

<sup>1600</sup> Ibid., IV. 7. 6.

<sup>1601</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Aranyakāṇḍa, 43rd sarga.

<sup>1602</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 9. 1. 12.

<sup>1603</sup> Ibid. V. 2. 1. 22.

<sup>1604</sup> Ibid., III. 1. 2. 13ff.

<sup>1605</sup> Ibid., XII. 8. 3. 4-10.

<sup>1606</sup> Atharvaveda, XI. 1. 8. See also Griffith's Atharvaveda, Vol. II. p. 52 fn.

coverlet for āsandi's<sup>1607</sup> and for chariots.<sup>1608</sup> Lion skins were also used for covering chariots.<sup>1609</sup>

Besides the hide-dresser, leather-worker (carmasīlpī)<sup>1610</sup> is also mentioned. Leather-bags were used for holding milk, wine and other liquids<sup>1611</sup> and dry skin-bags sometimes formed part of sacrificial fee.<sup>1612</sup> The ritual shoes mentioned in the Black Yajurveda<sup>1613</sup> were made of black antelope skins while the ritual shoes mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1614</sup> and in the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa<sup>1615</sup> were made of boar-skin.

(5) **Pottery**—The potter is frequently mentioned<sup>1616</sup> Among the earthen pots made by him we find sthālī, cooking pot which occurs in the Atharvaveda and the Brāhmaṇas; āsecana, vessel to hold liquids such as meat-juice (Yūṣan)<sup>1617</sup>; and ukhā, a cooking pot which is described clearly as mṛṇmaya in the White Yajurveda.<sup>1618</sup> The Rāmāyaṇa also mentions sthālī, kumbhī and karambhī filled with curds.<sup>1619</sup> Broken liquor-pots are also referred to<sup>1620</sup>

(6) **Ivory work**—The Rāmāyaṇa mentions altars<sup>1621</sup> and seats made of ivory,<sup>1622</sup> legs of bedsteads made of ivory and gold,<sup>1623</sup> pillars and windows (of Rāvaṇa's palace) made of ivory,<sup>1624</sup> and images of ivory placed in chariots.<sup>1625</sup>

<sup>1607</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V. 4. 4. 1 ff ;  
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 5 and 6.

<sup>1608</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodyākāṇḍa, 16th sarga;  
Sundarakāṇḍa, 6th sarga.

<sup>1609</sup> Ibid., Sundarakāṇḍa, 6th sarga.

<sup>1610</sup> Ibid., Bālakāṇḍa, 13th sarga. See  
also carmachchedaka in Ayodhyā-  
kāṇḍa, 80th sarga

<sup>1611</sup> Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, XIV. 11.  
26 ; XVI. 13. 13.

<sup>1612</sup> Black Yajurveda, I. 8. 19.

<sup>1613</sup> V. 4. 4. 4 ; V. 6. 6. 1.

<sup>1614</sup> V. 4. 3. 19.

<sup>1615</sup> III. 3.

<sup>1616</sup> White Yajurveda, XVI. 27 ; XXX.  
7 ; Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, I. 8. 3.

<sup>1617</sup> Rigveda, I. 162. 13.

<sup>1618</sup> XI. 59 ; see also Black Yajurveda,  
IV. 1. 5. 4 ; Atharvaveda, IX. 6. 17.

<sup>1619</sup> Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga.

<sup>1620</sup> Ibid., 114th sarga.

<sup>1621</sup> Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 10th sarga.

<sup>1622</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1623</sup> Sundarakāṇḍa, 10th sarga.

<sup>1624</sup> Aranykāṇḍa, 55th sarga.

<sup>1625</sup> Sundarakāṇḍa, 6th and 9th sargas.

(7) **Manufacture of liquor**—The sacred sacrificial drink obtained from the Soma plant was highly prized in this period as none of the principal religious rites such as the Darśa, Pūrṇamāsa, Jyotiṣṭoma, Ukthya, Vājapeya, Atirātra, Āptaryāma etc., could be celebrated without it. It is no wonder, therefore that the Black Yajurveda<sup>1626</sup> furnishes innumerable mantras for repetition at every stage of its manufacture. It is not necessary to describe here in any detail<sup>1772</sup> the several steps in its manufacture; suffice it to say that it was made with the expressed juice of the Soma creeper, diluted with water, mixed with barley meal, clarified butter and the meal of wild paddy (nīvāra) and fermented in jar for nine days.<sup>1628</sup> It seems that the starch of the two kinds of meal (barley and wild paddy) supplied the material for the vinous fermentation and the Soma juice served to promote vinous fermentation, flavour the beverage and check acetous decomposition in the same way that hop does in beer. Its intoxicating effects as noticed in the Rigveda have already been described. In the Black Yajurveda we find a story in which a sage Viśvarūpa by name, son of Tvaṣṭu while engaged at the Soma sacrifice is said to have indulged so inordinately in the exhilarating beverage as to have vomited on the animals brought before him for immolation.

In a distilled condition the Soma would be of no use and as it was not distilled it could not be kept for any great length of time. Accordingly no Soma juice was used when arrack was distilled from fermented meal. This fermented barley or wild paddy meal when distilled was called surā which was known, as we have already seen, early in the Rigvedic Age. It was used as an article of offering to the Gods in two important rites, namely, Sautrmāṇi and the Vājapeya. According to Baudhāyana and Kātyāyana three articles are used in its preparation viz. sprouting paddy, the sprout brought on by steeping paddy in water, slightly parched barley steeped in curds and diluted butter milk, and coarse powder of the same steeped in whey. After proper fermentation, this was distilled in the usual way. Unfortunately we do not get any description in contem-

<sup>1626</sup> I. 24; VI. 1-4.

<sup>1627</sup> The Kālpasūtras and the Somaprayoga supply the details.

<sup>1628</sup> Stevenson's Sāmaveda, p. 5; Haug's Aitareya Brāhmaṇa I., p. 6.



porary literature, of the still in which the distillation was effected, the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa suppling only a number of mantras for the preparation of the liquor. Another drink known as Kilīla was probably a variety of surā while Parisrut was a drink made from flowers.<sup>1629</sup>

The Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1630</sup> refers to surā which oozes spontaneously from trees (tāḍi ?) and different varieties of madya prepared by the Śaundika of which Vārūṇi<sup>1631</sup> and Maireya<sup>1632</sup> were famous.

(8) **Painting**—Frescoes (patibhāna or conversation-pictures i.e., love-scenes) are mentioned in the oldest Pali literature and the very fact that Buddha prohibited these paintings and permitted only the representation of wreaths and creepers shows the pre-Buddhistic origin of painting. The Kathopaniṣad<sup>1633</sup> refers by way of simile to pictures (light and shade) and to the painter's brush<sup>1634</sup> while the Ma'itrayāṇa-Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad<sup>1635</sup> refers by way of simile to a painted wall. The Rāmāyaṇa refers not only to painters (citraśilpavid)<sup>1636</sup> but also to rooms (of Rāma's Mahal in Ayodhyā) adorned with pictures made by skilful artists.<sup>1637</sup> Picture-galleries<sup>1638</sup> are also mentioned.

(9) **Sculpture**—Sculptured images on wooden posts are as old as the Rigveda.<sup>1639</sup> The Atharvaveda refers to decorated and inlaid (piś) bowls like the starry night<sup>1640</sup> and to carvings in relief of gods inside the bowl.<sup>1641</sup> The Rāmāyaṇa refers to images of horses, birds, serpents and of Lakṣmī with her elephants carved on the aerial chariot of Rāvaṇa.<sup>1642</sup>

<sup>1629</sup> Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, III. 2 9 ;  
Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, III. 4. 4.  
See also Zimmer—Altindisches  
Leben, p. 281.

<sup>1630</sup> Sundarakāṇḍa, 11th sarga.

<sup>1631</sup> Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 114th sarga.

<sup>1632</sup> Ibid, 91st sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 52nd  
sarga.

<sup>1633</sup> II. 6. 5.

<sup>1634</sup> II. 6. 17.

<sup>1635</sup> IV, 2.

<sup>1636</sup> Uttarakāṇḍa, 107th sarga.

<sup>1637</sup> Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 15th sarga.

<sup>1638</sup> Citragṛha in Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 10th  
sarga ; Citraśālā in Sundarakāṇḍa,  
6th and 12th sargas.

<sup>1639</sup> IV. 32. 23.

<sup>1640</sup> Atharvaveda, XIX. 49. 8.

<sup>1641</sup> Ibid., XII. 3. 33.

<sup>1642</sup> Sundarakāṇḍa, 7th sarga.

(10) **Architecture**—The Atharvaveda <sup>1643</sup> gives us a graphic account of a style of architecture which evidently refers to the ordinary type of a dwelling house in this period. According to it four pillars (upamit) were set up on a good site and against them beams were leant at an angle as props (pratimit). The upright pillars were connected by cross-beams (parimit) resting upon them. The roof was formed of ribs of bamboo (vaṃśa), a ridge called viṣūvant and akṣu, either the wicker-work or split bamboo-lining, over which the thatch was laid and to which the description of thousand-eyed <sup>1644</sup> could aptly be applied or a net spread over the viṣūvant to keep the straw-bundles of the thatch in tact during stormy weather. The walls were filled up with straw or long reedy grass <sup>1645</sup> and the whole structure was held together with ties of various sorts. <sup>1646</sup> Besides the store-house of Soma, <sup>1647</sup> the agni-śāla (the hall of the fire altar), <sup>1648</sup> patnīnām sadana (ladies' apartments), <sup>1649</sup> sadas (a shed erected in the sacrificial enclosure to the east of the Prācīnavamśa chamber, which had its supporting beam turned towards the east) <sup>1650</sup> and covered verandahs (at least along the front and back as denoted by the term pakṣas) each house had a big store-room or sālā full of clean corn <sup>1651</sup> and sheds for sheep and cattle. <sup>1652</sup>

In the Black Yajurveda we find frequent mention of bricks\* and of their use in the construction of fire-alters. Among the various forms of altar-bricks known to the people of this age, we may mention

- <sup>1643</sup> Atharvaveda, IX 3; III. 12.  
<sup>1644</sup> Atharvaveda, IX. 3. 8.  
<sup>1645</sup> Palāda, Atharvaveda, III. 12. 5; IX. 3. 5; palāva, Atharvaveda, XII. 3. 19; Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, I. 54. 1; palāli Atharvaveda, II. 8. 3; palāla, Kauṣītakī Sūtra, LXXX. 27.  
<sup>1646</sup> Sam lamśa, prāṇāha, nahana, parisvañjalya—Atharvaveda, IX. 3. 4, 5.  
<sup>1647</sup> Atharvaveda, IX. 3. 7.; IX. 6. 7.  
<sup>1648</sup> Ibid., IX. 3. 7.  
<sup>1649</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>1650</sup> Ibid., IX. 6. 7.

<sup>1651</sup> Ibid., III. 12. 3.

<sup>1652</sup> As there is distinct mention of playful calves and children in the house in the Atharvaveda III. 12. 3. Compare Rigveda, VII. 56. 16. Moreover, the house is described as rich in horses and in kine (Atharvaveda, III. 12. 2) and as giving rest to man and beast (Atharvaveda, IX. 3. 17.)

\* The first explicit mention of burnt (pakva) bricks occurs in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa late in the 7th century B. C. (VI. 1. 2. 22; VII. 2. 1. 7.)

mandaleṣṭakā (circular bricks)<sup>1653</sup> vikarṇī, (cornerless bricks)<sup>1654</sup> codī (conical bricks)<sup>1655</sup> kumbheṣṭakā (pot bricks)<sup>1656</sup> and other bricks with various linear markings.<sup>1657</sup> Mortar (puriṣa) was used in making bricks firm and has therefore been aptly compared to flesh adhering to bones.<sup>1658</sup> Such adhesive plasters must have been essential in the construction of the alternative forms of the altar<sup>1659</sup> like the 'bird' styles (representing the śyena, kanka or alaja) or the 'bowl' or granary (droṇa), 'chariot-wheel,' 'circle' 'cemetery' (śmaśāna) and 'triangle' models. It would be extraordinary if bricks were not used for the secular house-buildings as well, while altars (household or special) and cemeteries<sup>1660</sup> were brick-built.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa describes at length the śmaśāna (funeral and memorial) structures and classifies them into vāstu, gṛhān and prajñānam.<sup>1661</sup> The vāstu reliquary of bones etc., was built in two styles. The Prācya or unorthodox type was round and domeshaped (parimaṇḍalā),<sup>1662</sup> separate from the earth (i. e., towering), made of stone, instead of bricks<sup>1663</sup> and enclosed by an indefinite number of enclosing stones.<sup>1664</sup> The orthodox style of vāstu was square or quadrilateral,<sup>1665</sup> not separate from the earth,<sup>1666</sup> and made of bricks one foot square.<sup>1667</sup> The gṛhān<sup>1668</sup> was either an actual house with many rooms, erected over or beside the grave in memory of the deceased or chambers and vaults of subterranean or rock-cut caves.<sup>1669</sup> The prajñānam means a pillar-like memorial monument. A pillar (sthūpī) is indeed set up on the

<sup>1653</sup> Black Yajurveda, IV. 4. 5 ; V. 3. 9 ; etc.

<sup>1654</sup> Ibid., V. 3. 7.

<sup>1655</sup> Ibid., IV. 4. 3 ; V. 3. 7 ; etc.

<sup>1656</sup> Ibid., V. 6. 1 ; etc.

<sup>1657</sup> Ibid., V. 2. 3 ; V. 2. 10.

<sup>1658</sup> Ibid., V. 2. 3.

<sup>1659</sup> Ibid., V. 4. 11.

<sup>1660</sup> The direction that brick-altars could be erected after the model of (round or square) śmaśānas show that these latter were also brick-structures by the time of the Black Yajurveda.

<sup>1661</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XIII. 8. 1.

<sup>1662</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1663</sup> Ibid., XIII. 8. 4. 11.

<sup>1664</sup> Ibid., XIII. 8. 2. 2.

<sup>1665</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIII. 8. 1. 1ff.

<sup>1666</sup> Ibid., XIII. 8. 1. 1.

<sup>1667</sup> Ibid., XIII. 8. 4. 11.

<sup>1668</sup> Atharvaveda, XVIII. 3. 51 = Rigveda X. 19. 12 ; Atharvaveda, XVIII. 4. 37.

<sup>1669</sup> The Roman catacombs and Egyptian cave-graves offer instructive parallels.

Vedic grave<sup>1670</sup> and in the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa a stone<sup>1671</sup> pillar (śanku) was set up along with three timber ones at the four corners of the śmaśāna<sup>1672</sup>

The great variety of names for doors<sup>1673</sup> and pillars<sup>1674</sup> shows that they were a marked feature of one other type of house-building, characterised by timber-work as opposed to bamboo, brick and stone work. This timber architecture seems to have been strengthened by the use of ayasthūpa's<sup>1675</sup> (pillars made of the metal called ayas) and parigha's<sup>1676</sup> so that it constituted a necessary earlier stage of architecture to account for the elaborate gold-plated and inlaid timber-pillars of the Mauryan palace.

(11) **Town planning**—Town-planning seems to have been known in this period. Mr. E. B. Havell<sup>1677</sup> remarks "The close connection of the geometrical system (denoted by the mystic figures Paramaśāyika, Swastika, Sarvatobhadra, etc.,) with the Vedic sacrificial lore, and the position of the master-builder as high priest or sacrificial expert are indirect proofs of the great antiquity of the Indian science of town-planning; for, geometry as a science was an Indo-Aryan invention and had its origin in the complicated system of Vedic sacrifices in which it became necessary to

<sup>1670</sup> Atharvaveda, XVIII. 3. 52 = Rigveda, X. 18. 3.

<sup>1671</sup> According to the commentator made of vṛtra = stone.

<sup>1672</sup> Compare the four pillars adjacent to stupas and later on to mediæval mausoleums.

<sup>1673</sup> Dvār (White Yajurveda, XXX. 10; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XI. 1. 1. 2); dvāra (Atharvaveda, X. 8. 43); durya (White Yajurveda, I. 11; Black Yajurveda, I. 6. 3. 1); duraṇa, signifying house itself (Atharvaveda, VI. 17. 3; White Yajurveda, XXXII. 72.)

<sup>1674</sup> Sthūpā (Atharvaveda, XIV. 1. 63; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XIV. 1. 3. 7);

sthūpā-rāja (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa III. 1. 1. 11; III. 5. 1. 1; svaru (Atharvaveda, IV. 24. 4; XII. 1. 13); methi, with variants 'medhi,' 'methi,' or 'methi' (Atharvaveda, VIII. 5. 20; XIV. 1. 40; Black Yajurveda, VI. 2. 9. 4; Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā XXXV. 8; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa I. 29. 22; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 5. 3. 21; Pañcha-viṃśa Brāhmaṇa XIII. 9. 17; Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa I. 19. 1).

<sup>1675</sup> Rigveda, V. 62. 7, 8.

<sup>1676</sup> Chhāndogya Upaniṣad, II. 24. 6, 10, 15.

<sup>1677</sup> E. B. Havell—History of Aryan Rule in India, p. 25.

resolve geometrical problems such as constructing a circle equal in area to a square and vice-versa. The laying out of the Indo-Aryan village is treated in the *Śilpaśāstras* as the preparation of sacrificial ground. I have, therefore, considered it justifiable to refer it historically to the Vedic period and to connect it with the camp or fortified settlement of the early Aryan invaders." In a later volume Mr. Havell writes that subsequent investigations confirm his foregoing observations. He says "If it be true—as the Russian scholar Sheftdovich, asserts—that the Kassites who took Babylon in 1766 B. C. and established a dynasty there which lasted for 600 years were Aryans speaking Vedic Sanskrit whose chief god was Sūryya, Babylon must be regarded as a half-way house of the Aryan race in its march towards the Indus valley and some, at least of the early Aryan tribes must have acquired, before they entered India, not only the high spiritual culture which is reached in the *Rigveda*, but a prolonged experience of the civil arts, including architecture. Recent German excavations on the site of Babylon show that the science of building in Vedic times had advanced much further than has hitherto been suspected." (E. B. Havell—*Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture*, p. 3.)

Indeed the plan of the towns and their denominations were identical with those of the geometrical figures that had to be drawn on the sacrificial altars. These figures suggested the plans and the names. And the description of the cities of Ayodhyā and Lañkā as preserved in the *Rāmāyaṇa* seems to show that they were built according to a definite plan and are in wonderful agreement with the principles laid down in the later *Śilpaśāstras*. Thus we are told that the city of Lañkā was situated on the top of a hill,<sup>1678</sup> surrounded on all sides by a wall<sup>1678</sup> and outside the wall was a ditch surrounding the city.<sup>1678</sup> The ancient town-planners were not slow to seize the slightest opportunity to make the city as picturesque as they could. Accordingly, in the ditch were carefully nurtured lotus and lily plants<sup>1678</sup> The ditch was spanned by bridges in front of each of the many gates which pierced the wall surrounding the city.<sup>1678</sup> Inside the city were roads which were broad and well-divided.<sup>1678</sup> There were rows of beautiful houses plastered with lime.<sup>1678</sup>

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<sup>1678</sup> *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Sundarakāṇḍa* 2nd sarga.

The royal palace was sorrouded by a wall pierced by many beautiful gates.<sup>1679</sup> It contained latāgr̥ha,<sup>1679</sup> citraśālā<sup>1679</sup> kṛīḍāgr̥ha,<sup>1679</sup> kāmāgr̥ha,<sup>1679</sup> divāvihāra-gr̥ha<sup>1679</sup> and even artificial mountains made of wood<sup>1679</sup> besides many orchards<sup>1679</sup> and gardens.<sup>1679</sup> The famous Asoka forest with its rows of flower and fruit trees planted in their proper order by skilful sylviculturists, its well excavated tanks with their beautiful steps, its raised seats, rest-houses and latāgr̥ha's vied in beauty with the Nandana-kānana of Indra, the Garden of Brahmā or the Chaitra-ratha of Kuvera.<sup>1680</sup> Near the royal palace were the houses of Praśasta, Mahāpārśva, Kumbhakarṇa, Vibhiṣaṇa and other notables of the kingdom.<sup>1679</sup> The city also contained savāgr̥ha's,<sup>1681</sup> goṣṭhaśālā's<sup>1681</sup> and yantrāgāra's.<sup>1681</sup> In fact, the buildings were so faultlessly constructed that they appeared to have been made by Mayadīnava himself.<sup>1682</sup> The city has, therofore, been described as a mind-wrought city in the air, of Viśwakarman.<sup>1679</sup> It is likened to a woman with the walls and ramparts for her thighs,<sup>1678</sup> the wide expanse of water (in the ditch) and the surrounding jungles for her clothes,<sup>1678</sup> the śataghñī (guns ?) and sūlāstra for her locks of hair,<sup>1678</sup> the palaces for her ornaments<sup>1678</sup> and the yantrāgāra's for her breasts.<sup>1681</sup>

Similarly, the city of Ayodhyā is said to have been built by Manu.<sup>1683</sup> It was twelve yojanas in length and three yojanas in breadth.<sup>1683</sup> It was sorrouded by a deep moat, which made it difficult of access.<sup>1683</sup> It was divided by one broad road which was met by other fine streets all regularly watered.<sup>1683</sup> The city was founded on a plain<sup>1683</sup> and had many stout arched gates with large door-panels.<sup>1683</sup> In the middle of the city were rows of shops.<sup>1683</sup> In all quarters of the city were theatres, pleasure-gardens, mango-groves and avenues of śāla trees.<sup>1683</sup> Its innumerable palaces high like hills,<sup>1683</sup> sport-houses for ladies,<sup>1683</sup> tanks,<sup>1683</sup> chaityas,<sup>1684</sup> temples,<sup>1684</sup> yajñāśālās<sup>1684</sup> and pānaśālā's<sup>1685</sup> —all enhanced its beauty and magnificence. The buildings were not constructed in an irregular fashion, for, there was co-operation in alignment and structure (Suniveśitaveśmāntam).

<sup>1679</sup> Ibid., 6th sarga.

<sup>1680</sup> Ibid., Uttarakāṇḍa, 52nd sarga.

<sup>1681</sup> Ibid., Sundarakāṇḍa, 3rd sarga.

<sup>1682</sup> Ibid., 7th sarga.

<sup>1683</sup> Ibid., Bālakāṇḍa, 5th sarga.

<sup>1684</sup> Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa. 71st sarga.

<sup>1685</sup> Ibid., 100th sarga.

In consonance with this great attention to town-planning the people developed a high tone of civic consciousness. In the Rāmāyaṇa the city of Ayodhyā and everything in it fill the poet with delight. "He loses himself in the thought of its palaces, its arches and its towers. But it is when he comes to paint Lañkā that we reap the finest fruit of that civic consciousness which Ayodhyā had developed in him. There is nothing in all Indian literature, of greater significance for the modern Indian mind than the scene in which Hanumāna contends in the darkness with the woman who guards the gates saying in muffled tones "I am the city of Lañkā."\*<sup>1686</sup> Such a civic sense was quite probable because the cities in ancient times were more than centres of trade and corporate life; they were the ultimate resorts of the people against hostile invasion.

**The occupations**—We have already seen that the Rigveda shows germs of a social division, arising out of the adoption of different occupations by different sections of the community. An idea as to the enormous extent to which division of labour was carried out in this period will be evident from the following list of principal occupations most of which are described in the White Yajurveda<sup>1687</sup> in connection with the victims of the Puruṣamedha ceremony :—

(a) *Agricultural occupations*—Besides the husbandman<sup>1688</sup> we hear of various agricultural labourers : (1) ploughman (kīṇasa, kṛṣīvala),<sup>1689</sup> (2) sower (vāpa),<sup>1690</sup> (3) one employed in husking (dhānyakṛt)<sup>1691</sup> and (4) woman employed in grinding corn (upalaprakṣini)<sup>1692</sup>

(c) *Industrial occupations*—Of those engaged in the various industrial arts the following are important : (5) smelter (dhmātr),<sup>1693</sup> (6) black-

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\* Ahaṃ hi nagarī Lañkā svayameva  
plavaṅgama—Sundarakāṇḍa, 3rd  
sarga.  
<sup>1686</sup> Sister Niveditā—Civic and National  
Ideals, pp 6-7.  
<sup>1687</sup> Chapters XVI and XXX.  
<sup>1688</sup> Ath rvaveda, VI. 116. 1.

<sup>1689</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 11.  
<sup>1690</sup> Ibid, 7.  
<sup>1691</sup> Ibid., XVI. 33.  
<sup>1692</sup> Rigveda, IX. 112. 3.  
<sup>1693</sup> White Yajurveda XXX. 14. Com-  
pare smelting of ores (aśman) in  
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, VI. 1. 3. 5.

smith (karmāra),<sup>1694</sup> (7) arrow-maker (iṣukāra),<sup>1695</sup> (8) female scabbard-maker,<sup>1696</sup> (9) goldsmith (hiraṇyakāra, suvarṇakāra),<sup>1697</sup> (10) jeweller (maṇikāra),<sup>1698</sup> (11) carpenter (taṣṭr, <sup>1699</sup> takṣaka, <sup>1700</sup> sūtradhāra<sup>1701</sup>), (12) carver (peṣitr),<sup>1702</sup> (13) chariotmaker (rathakāra),<sup>1703</sup> (14) bowmaker (dhanuṣkāra),<sup>1704</sup> (15) bowstring maker (jyākāra),<sup>1705</sup> (16) ropemaker (rajjukāra),<sup>1706</sup> (17) woman who splits cane, <sup>1707</sup> (18) basketmaker (vidalakāri),<sup>1708</sup> (19) woman who works in thorns, <sup>1709</sup> (20) weaver (vāya),<sup>1710</sup> (21) weaver of rugs (kambala-kāra),<sup>1711</sup> (22) female weaver (vāyitri),<sup>1712</sup> (23) woman who embroiders (peṣakāri),<sup>1713</sup> (24) female dyer (rajayitri),<sup>1714</sup> (25) female ointment-maker,<sup>1715</sup> (26) scent-maker (gandhajivī),<sup>1716</sup> (27) stone-carver (prakaritr),<sup>1717</sup> (28) leather-worker (carmamna,<sup>1718</sup> carma-

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| <p><sup>1694</sup> White Yajurveda, XVI. 27 ; Maitrāyaṇa Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad, III. 3</p> <p><sup>1695</sup> White Yajurveda, XVI. 46 ; XXX. 17.</p> <p><sup>1696</sup> Ibid., XXX. 14.</p> <p><sup>1697</sup> Ibid., 17 ; Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga ; Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, IV. 4. 4.</p> <p><sup>1698</sup> White Yajurveda XXX. 7 ; Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga.</p> <p><sup>1699</sup> Atharvaveda, X. 6. 3 ; White Yajurveda, XVI. 27 ; XXX. 6.</p> <p><sup>1700</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 13th sarga.</p> <p><sup>1701</sup> Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 80th and 83rd sargas.</p> <p><sup>1702</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 12.</p> <p><sup>1703</sup> Ibid., XVI. 27 ; XXX. 6.</p> <p><sup>1704</sup> Ibid., XVI. 46 ; XXX. 7.</p> <p><sup>1705</sup> Ibid., XXX. 7.</p> <p><sup>1706</sup> Ibid. ; Black Yajurveda, VII. 2. 4. 2 ; compare Aitareya Āraṇyaka, I. 2. 3. 9-10.</p> <p><sup>1707</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 8.</p> <p><sup>1708</sup> Compare round mats of muñja grass for ritual use in White Yajurveda, XII. 2.</p> <p><sup>1709</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 5.</p> <p><sup>1710</sup> See Vedic Index, sv. Vāya.</p> | <p><sup>1711</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga.</p> <p><sup>1712</sup> Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, I. 8. 9 ; compare Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 1. 2. 13ff.</p> <p><sup>1713</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 9.</p> <p><sup>1714</sup> Ibid., 12.</p> <p><sup>1715</sup> Ibid., 14.</p> <p><sup>1716</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga.</p> <p><sup>1717</sup> A remarkable feature found in the śmaśāna of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is the regulation : "Let there be citras on the back of the 'Śmaśāna' " "for 'citras' mean offspring" (The commentator takes it as natural scenery ; this is absurd, specially as natural scenery is suggested as an alternative in the following lines). In the case of the stone-built round reliquary the most suitable citras would be sculptured figures in relief. It is interesting to compare the account in the Epic of the representation of the fertility goddess Jarā on the palace walls of the king of Girivraja, of a plump woman with children all around.</p> <p><sup>1718</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 15.</p> |
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śilpī,<sup>1719</sup> carma-chchhedaka<sup>1720</sup>) and (29) Potter (mr̥tpaca,<sup>1721</sup> kumbhakāra<sup>1722</sup>).

(c) *Priestly occupations*—The priestly class who earned their livelihood by officiating in sacrifices, by teaching the sacred lore or in other ways ministering to the spiritual needs of the community came to be divided into the following classes :—(30) the ṛtvig or hotṛ—the leading priest who while the sacrifice was being performed recited hymns of praise in honour of the particular god he was worshipping ; (31) the udgātṛ—the priest who sang the sāmans or hymns in praise of the Soma plant hypostatized and regarded as god ; (32) adhvaryu—the priest who was concerned with the manual acts of sacrificing (33) astrologer (gaṇaka,<sup>1723</sup> nakṣatradarśa<sup>1724</sup>), (34) weather-prophet (sakadhūman),<sup>1725</sup> one who foretells the weather by the way in which smoke rises from a fire of cowdung and (35) physician (bhiṣak<sup>1726</sup> vaidyaka).<sup>1727</sup>

(d) *Domestic and Menial occupations*—In addition to the above we find the (36) shepherd (avipala),<sup>1728</sup> (37) the cowherd (gopa),<sup>1730</sup> (38) goatherd (ajapāla),<sup>1731</sup> (39) elephant-keeper (hastipa),<sup>1732</sup> (40) horse-keeper (aśvapa),<sup>1733</sup> (41) driver of horses,<sup>1734</sup> (42) charioteers,<sup>1735</sup> (43) cook,<sup>1736</sup> (44) servant,<sup>1737</sup> (45) houseguard,<sup>1738</sup> (46) washerman,<sup>1739</sup>

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| <sup>1719</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 13th sarga.   | <sup>1727</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga.  |
| <sup>1720</sup> Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 80th sarga.   | <sup>1728</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX, 11.  |
| <sup>1721</sup> White Yajurveda, XVI. 27 ; XXX. 7 ; Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, I. 8. 3 ; Maitrāyaṇa Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad, II. 6 ; III. 31.   | <sup>1729</sup> Ibid.  |
| <sup>1722</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga.  | <sup>1730</sup> Ibid., XVI. 7.   |
| <sup>1723</sup> Ibid. Bālakāṇḍa, 13th sarga  | <sup>1731</sup> Ibid., XXX. 11.  |
| <sup>1724</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX 10 ; XXX. 20.   | <sup>1732</sup> Ibid.  |
| <sup>1725</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 1, 4. Compare Kauṣika Sūtra, XXX. 13. Bloomfield in American Journal of Philology, VII. pp. 484-88 ; Weber-Omina et Portenta, p. 363 ; Zimmer—Altindisches Leben, p. 353. | <sup>1723</sup> Ibid.  |
| <sup>1726</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 10 ; Black Yajurveda, V. 4. 9. 2.  | <sup>1734</sup> Ibid., XVI. 26.  |
|  | <sup>1735</sup> Ibid.  |
|  | <sup>1736</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 80th sarga.  |
|  | <sup>1737</sup> Ibid., Bālakāṇḍa, 13th sarga ; White Yajurveda, XXX. 13.                         |
|  | <sup>1738</sup> Gṛhapa, White Yajurveda, XXX. 11 ; dvārāpa, Ibid., 13 ; pāyu, puruṣa, Ibid., 20. |
|  | <sup>1739</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 80th sarga.  |

(47) washer-woman,<sup>1740</sup> (48) barber (vaptr),<sup>1741</sup> (49) waiter (parivestr, paricara),<sup>1742</sup> (50) messenger (pālāgala)<sup>1743</sup> and (51) bath-attendant (upsekr)<sup>1744</sup>

(e) *Recreational occupations* — Besides these there were others who earned their living by amusing the public specially the richer sections of it. Such were the (52) drumbeater<sup>1745</sup> (53) lute-player<sup>1746</sup> (54) flute-blower<sup>1747</sup> (55) musician<sup>1748</sup> (56) public dancer<sup>1749</sup> (57) minstrel (mā-gadha)<sup>1750</sup> (58) actor (naṭa)<sup>1751</sup> (59) artist (śilpī)<sup>1752</sup> (60) painter (citraśilpavid)<sup>1753</sup> (61) artificer<sup>1754</sup> (62) magician<sup>1755</sup> (63) question-solver<sup>1756</sup> (64) jester<sup>1757</sup> (65) keeper of gambling houses (sabhāvin)<sup>1758</sup> (66) pole-dancer or acrobat (vaṃśanartaka)<sup>1759</sup> (67) prize-fighter<sup>1760</sup> and (68) woman who deals in love-charms.<sup>1761</sup>

(f) *Other non-industrial occupations*—No less important were the occupations of the following non-industrial groups: (69) hunter (govikartana),<sup>1762</sup> (70) fisherman,<sup>1763</sup> (71) fishvender,<sup>1764</sup> (72) merchant,<sup>1765</sup>

1740	White Yajurveda, XXX. 12.	1753	Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 15th sarga; Uttarakāṇḍa, 107th sarga;
1741	Rigveda, X. 142. 4		Kāthopaniṣad, II. 6. 5 and 17.
1742	White Yajurveda, XXX. 9.	1754	White Yajurveda, XXX. 7.
1743	Ibid., 13.	1755	Atharvaveda, XIX. 27. 5; compare abhidhyātur vistrītir iva in Maitrāyaṇa Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad, VII. 1; VII. 8.
1744	Ibid., 12.	1756	White Yajurveda, XXX. 10.
1745	Ibid., 19.	1757	Ibid., 20.
1746	Ibid., 19, 20.	1758	Ibid., 18.
1747	Ibid.	1759	Ibid., 21.
1748	Ibid., XXX. 20; Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa, 107th sarga.	1760	Maitrāyaṇa Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad, VII. 8.
1749	White Yajurveda, XXX. 6; Maitrāyaṇa Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad, VII. 8; Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 13th sarga; Uttarakāṇḍa, 107th sarga.	1761	White Yajurveda, XXX. 9.
1750	White Yajurveda, XXX. 5, 22.	1762	Ibid., XVI. 28; XXX. 7.
1751	Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 13th sarga; Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga. Compare: changing dress in a moment like an actor in Maitrāyaṇa Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad, IV. 2; VII. 8.	1763	Ibid., XVI. 27; XXX. 8, 16; Chhāndogya Upaniṣad, I. 4. 3.
1752	White Yajurveda, XXX. 6; Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 13th sarga.	1764	White Yajurveda, XXX. 16.
		1765	White Yajurveda, XVI. 19; XXX. 17; Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga.

(73) banker (śreṣṭhin),<sup>1766</sup> (74) usurer (kusidin),<sup>1767</sup> (75) wood-ranger,<sup>1768</sup> (76) wood bringer,<sup>1769</sup> (77) forest fire-guard,<sup>1770</sup> (78) boatman (nāvāja), (79) mason,<sup>1771</sup> (80) sudhālepakīra,<sup>1772</sup> (81) bedhakāra,<sup>1773</sup> (82) vastra-sīvanakāra,<sup>1774</sup> and (83) śastra-jivī.<sup>1775</sup>

**Labour**—(a) *Free labourers : change in their social status*—With the elevation of the princely and priestly classes, the agricultural and industrial population lost the social status they once enjoyed. We have seen that in early Vedic times the rathakīras as the bailers of his war-chariots were on terms of friendly intimacy with the king. They were, moreover, regarded as the representatives of the R̥bhus, those ancient artificers whose wondrous skill obtained for them a place among the gods.<sup>1776</sup> In the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, however, they appear as a special class along with the vaiśyas and have through their devotion to a mechanical art, lost status as compared with ordinary freemen. Similarly, though the physician's skill was highly lauded in the Rigveda the germs of the later dislike for his profession are to be found in the Black Yajurveda.<sup>1777</sup> The position of the vaiśyas, the mass of the industrial population also underwent a change, for, in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa they came to be regarded as being tributary to another (anyasya valikṛt) and their function was to be devoured by the priest and the nobleman.<sup>1778</sup> The industrial population, however, tried to improve their position towards the end of this period by organising themselves into guilds.

(b) *Slave labour*—In this period agricultural work was mostly done, as before, by the freemen of the tribe along with their sons and kinsmen. Gradually, however, there arose various labouring classes recruited from the landless poor or conquered enemies. We have already seen that the

<sup>1766</sup> Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, III. 30. 3 ;  
Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, XXVIII. 6 ;  
Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, III. 1. 4. 10 ;  
Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, IV. 20.

<sup>1767</sup> Compare Atharvaveda, VI. 46. 3—  
Rigveda, VIII. 47. 17.

<sup>1768</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 19.

<sup>1769</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>1770</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>1771</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 80th sarga.

<sup>1772</sup> Ibid., 83rd sarga.

<sup>1773</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1774</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1775</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1776</sup> Rigveda, I. 29.

<sup>1777</sup> Black Yajurveda, VI. 4. 9. 1-2.

<sup>1778</sup> Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII 29. 3.

Rigveda refers to dāsa's who could be gifted away,<sup>1779</sup> so that they must have been in some sort of bondage. In another hymn of the Rigveda<sup>1780</sup> we are told that King Trasadasya, son of Purukutsa gave its composer fifty vadhu's. As these young women were gifted away they must have been in some sort of bondage. In the Atharvaveda we read of dāsī's husking and pounding the rice<sup>1781</sup> or collecting the alkaline droppings of the cow.<sup>1782</sup> The word dāsa which usually denotes a slave does not, however, always mean a slave ; for all non-sacrificers were called dāsa's.<sup>1783</sup> It is also worthy of note that though we have mention of gifts of slaves we have none of slave-markets. This absence of slave-markets may be taken to mean that slaves were never largely employed and that the institution of slavery never attained that importance which it did in Greece or Rome or in the social system of the Semetic countries.

(c) *Female Labour*—In this period we find a large number of women earning their livelihood by husking and grinding corn<sup>1784</sup>, working as dāsī's,<sup>1785</sup> weaving,<sup>1786</sup> splitting cane,<sup>1787</sup> working in thorns,<sup>1788</sup> doing embroidery work,<sup>1789</sup> dealing in love-charms,<sup>1790</sup> washing<sup>1791</sup> and dying clothes<sup>1792</sup> and making scabbards<sup>1793</sup> and ointments.<sup>1794</sup> An interesting reference to the position of women with regard to agriculture is to be found in the Taittirīya<sup>1795</sup> and Śatapatha Brāh-

1779 See *ante*, fn. No. 592.

1780 VIII. 19. 36.

1781 Atharvaveda, XII. 3. 13.

1782 Ibid., XII. 4. 9.

1783 Rigveda, V. 34. 6 ; X. 85. 19. The Yadus and Turvaśas were Aryan tribes but as they seceded from the Vedic faith they had been described as Dāsa kings (Rigveda, X. 62. 10) Bṛhadratha and Navavāstava became favourites of Agni by their performance of sacrifices (Rigveda, I. 36. 8) but both were afterwards killed by Indra, probably because of their subsequent heterodoxy and were called dāsas (Rigveda, X. 49. 6).

1784 Atharvaveda, XII. 3. 13.

1785 Ibid., XII. 3. 13 ; XII. 4. 9 ; V. 22. 6.

1786 Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, I. 8. 9. Compare Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 1. 2. 13ff.

1787 White Yajurveda, XXX. 8.

1788 Ibid.

1789 Ibid, 9.

1790 Ibid.

1791 Ibid., 12.

1792 Ibid.

1793 Ibid., 14.

1794 Ibid.

1795 III. 3. 10. In the Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra II. 17. 18 we are told that 'women should make accompanying oblations [in the sacrifice to the rustic deity of the furrow (sītā)] because such is the custom.'

maṇas<sup>1796</sup> where we are told that in the harvest-offering ritual “as a rule the wife of the sacrificer was present, with hands joined to her husband.” This participation of women can be explained by the fact that in primitive times the duties of agriculture lay, for the most part, in the hands of women.<sup>1797</sup> After tracing the historical development of this portion of the sacrifice<sup>1798</sup> Jevons remarks: “It is, therefore, an easy guess that the cultivation of plants was one of women’s contributions to civilisation and it is in harmony with this conjecture that the cereal duties are usually both in the Old World as in the New, female.” Agriculture, however, when its benefits became thoroughly understood, was not allowed among civilised races to continue to be the exclusive prerogative of women and the Corn goddess, maiden or mother, had to admit within the circle of her worshippers, the men as well as the women of the tribe.

**Caste system in relation to mobility of labour**—In this period, the caste-system was getting stereotyped. Besides the priesthood and the nobility there comes into existence a new factor, the introduction of divisions among the ordinary freemen—the Vaiśyas. In this development, there must have been two main influences—the force of occupation and the influence of the aborigines. We have already seen how in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa the chariotmakers, the type of skilled workers in the Rigveda, have through their devotion to a mechanical art, lost status as compared with ordinary freemen. Similarly, in the Rigveda the healing art is highly lauded and the Aświns, the divine physicians are repeatedly invoked; but by the time of the Black Yajurveda, the physician lost his previous high position, for, we read “The gods said of these two (the Aświns): impure are they, wandering among men and physicians. Therefore a brāhmaṇa should not

<sup>1796</sup> II. 5. 2. 20.

<sup>1797</sup> Jevons—Introduction to the History of Religion, pp. 240—41.

<sup>1798</sup> The gradual transition from the early sacrifice of human beings to the stage in which horses tended by man during the pastoral stage

were sacrificed, thence to the substitution of various animals as they became domesticated ending with the offering of fruits of the earth, when agriculture became widely known, is set forth as a recognised fact in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

practice medicine, for the physician is impure, unfit for the sacrifice".<sup>1799</sup> Moreover, contact with the aborigines<sup>1800</sup> must have raised questions of purity of blood very much like those which at present agitate the southern states of the U. S. A. or the White people in South Africa.

In deciding the question how far the caste system stood as a barrier against the mobility of labour and the people were tied down to the rigidity of a social system in which hereditary occupation was allotted to its members it is necessary that we should divest our mind of prejudices and guard ourselves against associating modern ideas with the old state of things. We are accustomed to say that the brāhmaṇas alone could be priests, they alone could teach the Vedas, whereas we have evidences which tend to prove that at least in the earliest times they alone were brāhmaṇas who possessed a knowledge of the Vedas and could perform the function of a priest. Rules were indeed laid down that no body should serve as a priest who could not prove his descent from three (according to Kauṣītaki Sūtra) or ten (according to Latyāyana Sūtra) generations of ṛṣi's. But these very rules prove indirectly that the unbroken descent in a brāhmaṇa line was yet an ideal and not an actuality.

We have, however, not to depend upon negative proof alone to establish our thesis. Authentic ancient texts repeatedly declare that it is knowledge and not descent, that makes a brāhmaṇa. In the Black Yajurveda we read "Eṣa, vai brāhmaṇa ṛṣirārṣeṇo yaḥ śusravan." (VI. 6.1.4) "He who has learning is the brāhmaṇa ṛṣi." Again, we have in the Kāṭhaka (XXX. I) and Maitrāyaṇi (XLVIII. 1; CVII. 9) Saṃhitās: "Kim brāhmaṇasya pitaram kiṃ tu pṛchchhasi mātaram." The Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa<sup>1801</sup> speaks of certain persons as royal seers and the later tradition preserved in the Anukramaṇi or Index to the composers of the Rigveda ascribes hymns to such royal seers. The hymns No. 30-34 of the tenth maṇḍala of the Rigveda were composed by Kavasha, son of Illuṣha, a low caste woman. In fact, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1802</sup> refers to his acceptance

<sup>1799</sup> Black Yajurveda, VI. 4. 9. 1—2.

<sup>1801</sup> XII. 12. 6.

<sup>1800</sup> Compare the case of Kavasha.

<sup>1802</sup> II. 3. 19.

as a ṛṣi for purity, learning and wisdom. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1803</sup> refers to royal seers like Viśwāmitra, Devapi and Janaka. Viśwāmitra, the Purohita of King Sudas is described in the Pañchavimśa and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas as of royal descent, of the family of the Jahnus. Yāska<sup>1804</sup> represents a prince named Devapi sacrificing for his brother Śāntanu, the king. Similarly, king Viśwantara sacrifices without the help of priests in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The Upaniṣads tell us of kings like Janaka of Videha,<sup>1805</sup> Aśwapati, king of the Kekayas in the Punjab,<sup>1806</sup> Ajātaśatru of Kāśī,<sup>1807</sup> and Pravahana Jābāla of Pāñchāla<sup>1808</sup> disputing with and instructing brahmins in the lore of the Brahmā. The Chhāndogya Upaniṣad<sup>1809</sup> tells us how a brahmin imparts knowledge to a śūdra accepting presents and taking his daughter for his wife. The Jaiminiya Upaniṣad speaks of a king becoming a seer. Another case of interest is that of Satyakāma Jāvāla who was accepted as a pupil by a distinguished priest, because he showed promise, although he could not tell of his ancestry.<sup>1810</sup> Jāvāla, it may be noted, became the founder of a school of the Yajurveda. In the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1811</sup> a brahmin is seen earning his livelihood by ploughing with no stigma attached to his action. Moreover, who was Vālmiki, the author of the Rāmāyaṇa itself, but a śūdra ?

**Craft-guilds**—The question now presents itself whether there existed in this period industrial combinations called craft-guilds. Geldner and Roth find references to them in the Brāhmaṇas but there are other Vedic scholars who hold the opposite view. No doubt, considered by themselves merely as literary passages, these references seem to be doubtful indications of a formal and well-defined institution ; but if we combine with the literary evidence, the evidence of history, the evidence furnished by the evolution of Aryan life, much of the uncertainty of the purely literary evidences will disappear. No doubt guild-life belongs to a consider-

<sup>1803</sup> XI. 6. 2. 1.

<sup>1804</sup> II. 10.

<sup>1805</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XI. 6. 2. 1.

<sup>1806</sup> Ibid., X. 6. 11 ; Chhāndogya Upaniṣad, V. 11.

<sup>1807</sup> Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, II. 1 ; Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, IV. 1.

<sup>1808</sup> Chhāndogya Upaniṣad, I. 8ff. ; V. 3. 1ff. ; Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, VI. 2. 1ff.

<sup>1809</sup> IV. 2.

<sup>1810</sup> Chhāndogya Upaniṣad, V. 4.

<sup>1811</sup> Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd sarga.

ably advanced stage of economic progress in which individual mechanics, artisans and traders have sufficient business instinct developed in them and have achieved sufficient success in their respective businesses to appreciate the necessity of organising themselves into a community for the purpose of promoting their individual and collective interest. But we have already seen the enormous extent to which the differentiation of economic occupations was carried on and the remarkable progress which the arts and crafts achieved in this period. And this will lead any sober and unbiassed historian to the conclusion that those scholars who choose to find in certain passages of the Brāhmaṇas proofs of the existence of guilds cannot very well be considered as guilty of making any extravagant claim and taking up an untenable position.

Let us now proceed to the passages themselves. In the White Yajurveda<sup>1812</sup> we have the word *gaṇa* besides *gaṇapati*, which means the headman of a *gaṇa*. *Gaṇa* in later Sanskrit always means a guild or corporate union. In the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad<sup>1813</sup> we read “Sa naib vybhavata. Sa viśamasrjata yānyetāni devajātāni gaṇaśaḥ ākhyāyante.” Commentator Śaṅkarācārya says :—“Kṣhātrasrṣtopi sa naiva vyābhavat karmaṇe brahma tayā vyābhavat vittopārjjanyiturabhāvāt. Sa viśamasrjata kārmasādhana-vittopārjjanāya. Kaḥ punarasou biḥ? Yānyetāni devajātāni, svārthe niṣṭhī ya ete devajātibhedā ityarthah gaṇaśa gaṇam gaṇam ākhyāyante kathyante gaṇaprāyā hi viśaḥ. Prāyena saṃhatya hi vittopārjjanasamarthāḥ naikaikaśaḥ” Thus the gods of the Vaiśya class were called *gaṇaśaḥ* on the analogy of their human prototype because they could earn money evidently by industry and trade, not by their individual efforts but in a corporate body. We have also certain passages which contain the word *śreṣṭhin*,<sup>1814</sup> meaning according to Hopkins a modern seth (banker) or more probably, according to Macdonell, the headman of a guild.<sup>1815</sup> Metaphorical and indirect allusions to *gaṇa* and *śreṣṭhi* made in order to explain obstruse philosophical subjects show that they were already well-known existences within the

<sup>1812</sup> XXIII 19. 1.

<sup>1813</sup> I. 4. 12.

<sup>1814</sup> Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, XXVIII. 6;  
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, III. 39, 3;  
Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, IV. 20.

<sup>1815</sup> According to the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa

(III. 1. 4. 10) Bhaga was the Śreṣṭh  
of the gods.



range of common observation and the allusions are warranted on the logical principle of arguing from the known to the unknown, of explaining the unfamiliar and the abstract from the familiar and the concrete. This is further corroborated by the *Rāmāyaṇa*<sup>1816</sup> where we are told that in the procession of citizens who accompanied Bharata in his quest of Rāma figured merchants, jewellers, potters carpenters, goldsmiths, physicians, wine-distillers, tailors etc., so that the *Rāmāyaṇa* recognises the position held by trades and crafts in society.

**Domestic and Foreign trade**—The striking development of industrial life and the consequent sub-division of occupations made self-supporting life an impossibility and gave greater scope to the interchange of the products of agriculture and industry. Unfortunately from the evidences at our disposal we can gather very meagre information about the interchange of commodities of various localities. The *Atharvaveda* describes the guggula (bdellium) as “produced from Sindhu” or coming from the sea; <sup>1817</sup> Varāṇa, a plant used in medicine and supposed to possess magical powers is described as *Varāṇāvatyām*,<sup>1818</sup> growing on the banks of *Varāṇāvati* lake or river and bartered for coverings (pavasta), skins of goats (ajina) and woven cloths (dūrśa).<sup>1819</sup> Horses are described in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*<sup>1820</sup> as “coming from the Indus regions” (Saindhava). Salt is similarly described as “coming from the Indus” in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.<sup>1821</sup> From the *Rāmāyaṇa* we learn that Kamboja, Bahlika and Sind were famous for horses<sup>1822</sup> and that elephants of the Himalayan and Vindhyan regions were famous for their large size and great strength.<sup>1823</sup> The excess production as well as excellence of production of particular localities induced energetic men to carry them to other places where these could be disposed of with profit. Such men were called the *Vanij*<sup>1824</sup> or merchant, who in a hymn of the *Atharvaveda*

<sup>1816</sup> *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, 83rd sarga.

<sup>1817</sup> *Atharvaveda*, XIX. 38. 2.

<sup>1818</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 7. 6.

<sup>1819</sup> XI. 5. 5. 12.

<sup>1820</sup> VI. 1. 13.

<sup>1821</sup> II. 4. 12. Compare *Chhândogya Upaniṣad*, VI. 13. 1-2.

<sup>1822</sup> *Bālakāṇḍa*, 6th sarga.

<sup>1823</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1824</sup> White *Yajurveda*, XXX. 17; *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa*, III. 4. 14. 1.

is made to speak of "the distant pathway which his feet have trodden" and to address the gods in the following strain :—

"I stir and animate the merchant Indra ; may he  
 approach and be our guide and leader  
 Chasing ill-will, wild beast, and highway robber,  
 may he who hath the power give me riches.

\* \* \* \*

Propitious unto us be sale and bater, may  
 interchange of merchandise enrich me ;  
 Accept ye twain (Agni and Indra) accordant, this  
 libation ! Prosperous be our ventures and incomings.  
 The wealth wherewith I carry on my traffic, seeking,  
 ye gods ! wealth with the wealth I offer,  
 May this grow more for me, not less : O Agni,  
 through sacrifice chase those who hinder profit."

For the conduct of this trade there were roads and travellers' rest-houses. The Atharvaveda refers not only to the parirathyā<sup>1826</sup> or road suitable for chariots but also to well-made cart-roads on a higher level than adjoining fields, forests and other village tracks with great trees planted beside, passing through villages or towns and with occasional pairs of pillars (i. e., gateways, evidently near the approaches of some town) through which bridal processions pass.<sup>1827</sup> Every tirtha along the bridal route is said to be well-provided with drink, so that it must have been a rest-house like the prapatha's of the Rigveda.<sup>1828</sup> Indeed travelling seems to have been quite common in those days. The Atharvaveda has charms to ensure a prosperous journey<sup>1829</sup> and gives us the parting traveller's address to the houses of his village.<sup>1830</sup> Villages are sometimes described as connected with mahāpathas or high roads<sup>1831</sup> and

<sup>1825</sup> III. 15.

<sup>1826</sup> Atharvaveda, VIII. 8. 22.

<sup>1827</sup> Ibid., XIV. 1. 63 ; XIV. 2. 6, 8, 8, 9,  
 12.

<sup>1828</sup> I. 166. 9.

<sup>1829</sup> Atharvaveda, VII. 55.

<sup>1830</sup> Ibid., VII. 60.

<sup>1831</sup> Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, IV. 17. 8 ;  
 Chhândogya, Upaniṣad, VIII. 6. 2.

causeways (badvan) firmer than an ordinary road are known.<sup>1832</sup> Setu meaning a raised bank for crossing inundated land frequently occurs in the literature of this period.<sup>1833</sup>

Scholars are, however, divided in their opinion as to whether this trade was carried on across the seas to foreign lands. Professor Keith observes "There is still no hint of sea-borne commerce or of more than river navigation, though we need not suppose that the sea was unknown, at least by hearsay, to the end of the period."<sup>1834</sup> But, as a matter of fact, we find distinct references to sea and to sea-voyages and at least indirect proof of sea-borne commerce in this period. That the sea was widely known will be evident from the use of the sea by way of simile in the following :—

"Whatever I eat I swallow up, even as the  
sea that swallows all."<sup>1835</sup>

"Raise thyself up like heaven on high and  
be exhaustless as the sea."<sup>1836</sup>

That the sea is not the Indus in flood will be evident from the existence of three seas<sup>1837</sup> and from the fact that in a passage of the Atharvaveda Varuṇa's throat evidently means the sea into which the seven rivers flow :

"Thou, Varuṇa, to whom belong the Seven Streams,  
art a glorious god.

The waters flow into thy throat as 'twere  
a pipe with ample mouth"<sup>1838</sup>

That the evaporation of sea-water went to form the clouds is clearly stated in the following verse : "Udirayata marutaḥ samudra stveṣo arko navaḥ utpātayātha." "Up from the sea lift your dread might, ye Maruts as

<sup>1832</sup> Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, I. 1. 4.

<sup>1833</sup> Black Yajurveda, III. 2. 1 ; VI. 1. 4. 9 ; VI. 5. 3. 3 ; VII. 5. 8. 5 ; Kāthaka Saṃhitā, XXVII. 4 ; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, III. 35 ; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIII. 2. 10. 1 ; Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, II. 4. 2. 6 ;

Chhândogya Upaniṣad, VIII. 4. 1. 2 ; Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, IV. 4. 4.

<sup>1834</sup> Cambridge History of India, p. 136.

<sup>1835</sup> Ibid., VI. 135. 3. Compare VI. 135. 2.

<sup>1836</sup> Ibid., VI. 142. 2.

<sup>1837</sup> Atharvaveda, XIX. 27. 4.

<sup>1838</sup> Ibid., XX. 92. 9.

light and splendeur, send the vapour upward!"<sup>1839</sup> The White Yajurveda also refers to the sea: "Samudraṃ gachchha svāhā, antarikṣaṃ gachchha svāhā, daivaṃ savitaraṃ gachchha svāhā."<sup>1840</sup> "Go to the sea. Ail hail! Go to the air. All hail! Go to god Savitar. All hail!" In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa we are told how Manu, the Indian Noah had directed to build a strong ship for carrying him safe from the floods which were prophesied by the Fish of the Fish-legend and how when the requisite ship was built, Manu was taken safe to the mountain.<sup>1841</sup> A string of words connected with navigation equally lends support to the view that extensive navigation existed in this period. Thus we have (1) aritram—This means an oar and we find ships propelled by one hundred oars: "Sunāvamāruheyamasravantīmanāgasam. Śātāritrāṇ svastaye".<sup>1842</sup> "May I ascend the goodly ship, free from defect, that leaketh not, moved by a hundred oars, for weal"; (2) aritr—rower of a ship: "eyatirvācamariteva nāvam";<sup>1843</sup> (3) nāvaprabhramśanam—the sliding down of the ship; <sup>1844</sup> (4) nau-maṇḍa—rudder of a ship. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa refers to big ships having two rudders each; <sup>1845</sup> (5) nāvāja—pilot, boatman.<sup>1846</sup>

There are also passages which indicate that sea-voyages were undertaken in this period. Thus in the Rāmāyaṇa, Sugrīva asks his followers to go the cities and mountains in the islands of the sea in search of Sītā.<sup>1847</sup> In another passage they are asked to go to the land of the koṣakāras<sup>1848</sup> (the land where grows the worm which yields the thread of silken cloth), generally

<sup>1839</sup> Ibid., IV. 15. 5.

<sup>1840</sup> White Yajurveda, VI. 21.

<sup>1841</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, I. 8. 1. 1—10.

<sup>1842</sup> White Yajurveda. XXVII. 7.

<sup>1843</sup> Rigveda, II. 42. 1.

<sup>1844</sup> Atharvaveda, XIX. 39. 8. This seems to be connected with manoravasarpānam in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, I. 8. 1. 6.

<sup>1845</sup> II. 3. 3. 15.

<sup>1846</sup> Ibid., II. 3. 3. 5.

<sup>1847</sup> Samudramavagādhāṃścha parvatān pattanāni cha — Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 40th sarga.

<sup>1848</sup> Bhūmiścha koṣakārāpāṇ in Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 40th sarga.

identified with China. In a third passage they are asked to go to Yavadvīpa<sup>1849</sup> and Suvarṇadvīpa : <sup>1850</sup> “Yatnavanto Yavadvīpaṃ saptarājyo-  
paśobhitam. Suvarṇarupyakadvīpaṃ suvarṇakarmaṇḍitam.”<sup>1851</sup> In a fourth  
passage they are asked to go as far west as the Red sea : “Tato raktajalam  
bhimaṃ Lohitaṃ nāma sāgaram”.<sup>1852</sup> Lastly, we have a passage which  
hints at preparations for a naval fight thus indicating a through knowledge  
and a universal use of the waterway : “Nāvāṃ śatānāṃ pañchānāṃ Kaivar-  
tānāṃ śataṃ satam. Sannaddhānāṃ tathā yūnāṃ tiṣṭhanttvitya bhyacho-  
dayat.”<sup>1853</sup> “Let hundred of Kaivarta young men lie in wait in five  
hundred ships (to obstruct the enemy passages)”.

The chief article of trade with China hinted in the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1854</sup>  
was silk. Mr. J. Yeats in his *Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce*  
observes “The manufacture of silk among the Chinese claims a high  
antiquity, native authorities tracing it as a national industry for a period  
of 5000 years.” This intercourse with China is corroborated by Professor La  
Couperie in his *Western Origin of Chinese Civilisation* which refers to the  
maritime intercourse of India with China as dating from about 680 B. C.  
when the sea-traders of the Indian Ocean founded a colony called Lang-  
ga (after the Indian name Laṅkā or Ceylon) about the present Gulf of  
Kiao-tchoa.

According to Professor Keith “sea-borne commerce with Babylon  
cannot be proved for this epoch.”<sup>1855</sup> The Bāveru Jātaka, however,  
relates the adventures of certain Indian merchants who took peacocks  
*by sea* to Babylon. No doubt the Jātaka goes back only to 400 B. C. but  
the folk-tale on which it is based must be much earlier. Moreover, we

<sup>1849</sup> Ptolemy has evidently adopted the  
name Jāvā for the Sanskrit yava-  
dvīpa, the former being a Greek  
equivalent of the latter ; while  
modern writers like Humboldt,  
call it the Barley Island.

<sup>1850</sup> Albiruni has observed that the  
Hindus call the Islands of the  
Malaya Archipelago by the general  
name of Suvarṇa Island. M. Rei-

naud interprets Yavadvīpa and  
Suvarṇadvīpa to mean the Islands  
of Java and Sumatra (vide *Journal*  
*Asiatique*, IV., p. 265).

<sup>1851</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 40th sarga,

<sup>1852</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1853</sup> Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 84th sarga.

<sup>1854</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 40th sarga.

<sup>1855</sup> Cambridge History of India, p. 144.

have already seen that Mr. H. Rassam found a beam of Indian cedar in the palace of Nabuchadnezzar III. (580 B. C.) at Birs Nimrud; and of Indian teak in the temple of the moon-god at Ur refounded by Nebonidus. According to Mr. Hewitt this wood must have been sent *by sea* from some *sea-port* on the Malabar coast, for, it is only there that teak grew near enough to the sea, to be exported with profit in those early days.<sup>1856</sup> Further, Baudhāyana's condemnation of the Northern Aryans who took part in the sea-trade proves that they were not the chief agents though they had a considerable share in it. In the words of Mr. Kennedy "Maritime commerce between India and Babylon flourished in the 7th and 6th but more specially in the 6th century B. C. It was chiefly in the hands of the Dravidians, although Aryans had a share in it. And as Indian traders settled afterwards in Arabia and on the coast of Africa and as we find them settling at this very time on the coast of China, we cannot doubt that they had their settlements in Babylon also."<sup>1857</sup>

Indeed there are circumstantial evidences which go to prove that there existed some sort of intercourse between India on the one hand and Babylon, Assyria, Judæa and Persia on the other. Mr. Keith observes "It is indeed probable enough that even before the time of Darius, Cyrus of Persia had relations with tribes on the right bank of the Indus and Arrian<sup>1858</sup> asserts that the Assakenoi and the Astakenoi were subject to Assyrian kings."<sup>1859</sup> Dr. Winckler has pointed out that Shalmanesar IV. of Assyria (727—722 B. C.) received presents from Bactria and India, specially Bactrian camels and Indian elephants. In the *Historians' History of the World* we are told "The pictures on the black obelisk of Shalmanesar shows us such beasts as apes and elephants being brought as tributes to the conquerors or confirming in the most unequivocal way the belief based on Ktesias and Strabo that the Assyrians had commercial relations with India.....The first article which we may confidently assert the Babylonians to have obtained at least in part from these countries were precious stones,

<sup>1856</sup> *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1888., p. 337.

<sup>1857</sup> Kennedy—Early commerce between India and Babylon in *J. R. A. S.* 1898.

<sup>1858</sup> *Indica* I. 3. (McCrindle's *Trans.* p. 179).

<sup>1859</sup> *Cambridge History of India.*

the use of which in seal-rings was very general among them. Ktesias says expressly that these came from India and that onyxes, sardines and the other stones used for seals were obtained in the mountains bordering [on the sandy desert.....The passage of Ktesias to which we have just referred contains some indications which relatively to onyxes appear to refer to the Ghat mountains, since he speaks of a hot country, not far from the sea. The circumstance of large quantities of onyxes coming out of these mountains at the present day, viz., the mountains near Cambay and Broach (the ancient Barygaza) must render this opinion so much the more probable as it was this very part of the Indian coast with which the ancients were most acquainted.....Also the Babylonians imported Indian dogs. The native country of these animals according to Ktesias was that whence the precious stones were obtained. And this account of the regions has been confirmed by Marco Polo who mentions that the large dogs of these regions were even able to overcome lions. A third and a no less certain class of productions which the Persians and the Babylonians obtained from this part of the world were dyes and amongst them the Cochineal or rather Indian *lākṣā*. The most ancient though not quite accurate description of this insect is also found in Ktesias.”<sup>1860</sup>

**Weights and Measures**—The development of trade facilitated the growth of weights and measures. The *tūlā* or balance is mentioned in the White Yajurveda<sup>1861</sup> and in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Wooden vessels of definite size<sup>1862</sup> called *ūrdara* were used in measuring grains. Standards of weight were also invented. Thus the *kṛṣṇala* (berry of *abrus precatorius*) and *māsa* and some other grains were used as standards of weight in measuring precious metals.<sup>1862</sup>

**Methods and Media of Exchange**—In this period there was not only simple barter, proved by the evidence of words like *prapaṇa* (barter) and *pratipaṇa* (exchange of merchandise)<sup>1863</sup> but the use of gold as well as silver money. We have already seen that the *niṣka* of the Rigveda was

<sup>1860</sup> Historians' History of the World,  
Vol. I., pp. 484—90.

<sup>1861</sup> XXX. 17.

<sup>1862</sup> Macdonell & Keith—Vedic Index,  
Vol. I., p. 185.

<sup>1863</sup> Atharvaveda, III. 15. 4; IV. 7. 6.

not a mere metallic standard but a coin. The use of these *niṣkas* was also known in this period. The word occurs in many passages of the *Atharva-veda*<sup>1864</sup> and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*<sup>1865</sup> describes a man as *niṣkakaṇṭha*, wearing a necklace of *niṣka* coins. The *Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*<sup>1866</sup> refers to silver *niṣka* worn by a *Vrātya* chief.

A different kind of currency called *śatamāna* was known in this period. Reference to it occurs not only in the *Taittiriya*<sup>1867</sup> and *Kāthaka Saṃhitā*<sup>1868</sup> but also in the *Taittiriya*<sup>1869</sup> and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas*; so that it seems to have been widely used as a metallic standard at least in those regions where the *Taittiriya Saṃhitā* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* were composed. It is interesting to note that the passage in the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* I. 7. 6. 2 occurs also in the *Taittiriya Saṃhitā*<sup>1870</sup> thus proving that *śatamāna* was prevalent not only when the *Brāhmaṇas* were written but also in the early period when the *Saṃhitā* was composed. In *Kāṇḍa V* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*<sup>1871</sup> dealing with the *Rājasūya*, we have a section which treats of the *Ratha-vimochaniya* oblations; and in connection therewith, we are told that behind the right hind-wheel of the cart-stand, the king fastens two round *śatamānas* which he has afterwards to give to the brahmin priest as his fee for this ceremony. In another passage of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*<sup>1872</sup> we read: "Three *śatamānas* are the sacrificial fee for this (offering) which he presents to the brahmin; for, the brahmin neither performs (like the *adhvaryu*) nor chants (like the *udgātṛ*) nor recites (like the *hotṛ*) and yet he is an object of worship: therefore he presents to the brahmin three *śatamānas*. Many other passages of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*<sup>1873</sup> contain this reference to the *śatamāna* which was given as fee to the officiating priest in the sacrifice. No doubt *Sāyana* takes *śatamāna* to denote a round plate but the case is not unlike that of *Nāgojibhatta* who commenting on a celebrated passage in the *Mahābhāṣya* has explained the *Mauryas* as idol-manufacturers. But just as no scholar

<sup>1864</sup> V. 14. 3; V. 17. 14; XX. 131. 8.

<sup>1865</sup> VIII. 22.

<sup>1866</sup> XVII. 1. 14.

<sup>1867</sup> II. 3. 11. 5; III. 2. 6. 3.

<sup>1868</sup> XI. 8.

<sup>1869</sup> I. 2. 7. 7; I. 7. 6. 2.

<sup>1870</sup> II. 3. 11. 5; III. 2. 6. 3.

<sup>1871</sup> V. 4. 3. 24, 25.

<sup>1872</sup> V. 5. 5. 16.

<sup>1873</sup> XII. 7. 2. 3; XIII. 2. 3. 2.



would now explain the Mauryas as idol-manufacturers but take them to denote Maurya princes only, so no one can explain the term Śatamāna in the way in which Sāyana has done. Śatamāna may, however, have been 100 mānas or gunja-berries in weight as explained by Sāyana and accepted by Professor Eggeling and as it is spoken of as *vr̥tta*<sup>1874</sup> it must have been round in shape.

Another class of metallic standard has been mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa side by side with the śatamāna. Thus we read : “Suvarṇam hiraṇyam bhavati rūpasya eva ābharuddhai śatamānam bhavati śatāyurbhai puruṣa.”<sup>1875</sup> “Hiraṇyam dakṣhinā, suvarṇam śatamānam tasya oktam.”<sup>1876</sup> In both the above passages suvarṇa is associated with śatamāna and both are called hiraṇya or gold ; so that suvarṇa like śatamāna denotes a metallic standard, evidently of gold.

Another class of metallic standard called *pāda* is mentioned in the concluding kāṇḍa of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa where we are told that king Janaka of Videha celebrated a sacrifice in which he bestowed huge largesses upon brahmins of the Kuru-Pāñchāla country. A curiosity sprang up in his mind as to who was the best read of these brahmins. He collected a thousand kine and we are told that to every single horn of each cow were tied ten *pādas* and it was proclaimed that they should be taken away by him alone who is best cognisant with Brahman. Now what were these *pādas* ? It has been suggested by Bohtlingh and Roth and accepted by Professor Rhys Davids<sup>1877</sup> that the word *pāda* here denotes the fourth part of a certain gold weight and not a metallic standard. Are we then to suppose that as the cows were one thousand in number, as each cow had two horns and as each horn carried ten *pādas*, king Janaka ordered twenty thousand pieces of gold to be hammered out, each again weighing just one-fourth of a certain weight—all this just on the spur of the moment, when the idea of testing the erudition of brahmins occurred to him ? This idea, we are afraid, is too ridiculous for any scholar to entertain seriously in his mind. On the other hand, *pāda* is known to be the name

<sup>1876</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V. 4. 3. 24.

<sup>1875</sup> Ibid., XII. 7. 2. 3.

<sup>1876</sup> Ibid., XIII. 2. 3. 2.

<sup>1877</sup> Ancient Coins and Measures of  
Ceylon, p. 3 n. 2.

of a metallic standard and has been referred to in Pāṇini's Sūtras<sup>1878</sup> and also in an inscription of the tenth century A. D.<sup>1879</sup> Only if pāda is taken to stand for a metallic standard, it is easy to understand that Janaka could at any moment get hold of twenty thousand such pādas from his treasury for being tied to the horns of the cows.<sup>1880</sup>

There is still another class of metallic standard referred to in the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1881</sup> called kṛṣṇāla where we are told of a gift of kṛṣṇāla to each racer. Kṛṣṇāla denotes the well-known raktikā or gunjaberry and what kṛṣṇāla here means is a metallic standard possibly of gold weighing one gunjaberry. This receives confirmation from the fact that the Kāthaka Saṃhitā<sup>1882</sup> makes mention of hiraṇya kṛṣṇāla or gold kṛṣṇāla. In fact kṛṣṇāla continued to serve as a metallic standard as late as the age of the Manusamhitā.<sup>1883</sup>

**The general economic condition of the masses and classes**—By the time the Brāhmaṇas were composed the whole fertile plain of Northern India was appropriated and colonised by the Aryans. Agriculture became the principal occupation though cattle-rearing was not altogether neglected. Thrice a day the cows were driven out to graze<sup>1884</sup> and they were milked thrice<sup>1885</sup> as milk was required thrice daily for pouring libations into the sacred Household Fire. Villages were established in the midst of the conquered country—the conquered being pushed back to the hills or allowed to live on conditions of submission, service or tribute. These villages “were scattered over the country some close together, some far apart and were connected by roads.”<sup>1886</sup>

(1) *The dwelling of the ordinary householder*—Each village contained a number of families, each possessing its own separate dwelling. In the comparatively<sup>1887</sup> drier and hotter Upper Gangetic regions the entrance and

<sup>1878</sup> V. 1. 34.

<sup>1879</sup> Epigraphia Indica, I. 173. 23 and 178. 11.

<sup>1880</sup> The same story also occurs in the Brhadāranyakopanisad, III. 1. 1ff.

<sup>1881</sup> I. 3. 6. 7.

<sup>1882</sup> XI. 4.

<sup>1883</sup> VIII. 215, 330 ; IX. 84 ; XI. 137.

<sup>1884</sup> Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, I. 4. 9. 2.

<sup>1885</sup> Black Yajurveda, VII. 5. 3. 1.

<sup>1886</sup> Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 211.

<sup>1887</sup> Compare the sense of enclosure in 'vraja' and 'vrjana.'

enclosure aspects of the dwelling house must naturally have been more prominent and the references to these features and their figurative use accordingly, occur in texts like the Rigveda which were mainly of Midlandic origin. With the march of Aryan arms into the rain-flooded Lower Gangetic valley the roof naturally had to be built carefully and we therefore find much care bestowed on the construction of the thatched roof in the house-construction outlined in the Atharvaveda<sup>1888</sup> which is pre-eminently a book of the Angirāsas, who are definitely located in and associated with the very same Lower Gangetic provinces in Paurāṇic tradition. In every house guests were welcomed and attended to in the āvasatha<sup>1889</sup> which seems to be a structure of some sort for the reception of guests on the occasion of feasts and sacrifices and afterwards came to be used in its literal sense of an abode for the first time in the Aitareya Upaniṣad.<sup>1890</sup> Every Vedic householder's house was supposed to have its own presiding Deity and his favour was constantly sought. The householder's warm attachment his sweet home will be evident from the parting traveller's address to the houses of his village :

"These houses we invoke, whereon the distant exile sets his thought  
Wherein dwells many a friendly heart : Let them be aware of our approach.

\* \* \* \* \*

Full of refreshment, full of charms, of laughter and felicity  
Be ever free from hunger, free from thirst ! Ye houses fear us not  
Try here and come not after me, prosper in every form and shape  
With happy fortune will I come Grow more abundant still through me."<sup>1891</sup>

(2) *Domestic furniture and utensils*—The ordinary Vedic householder possessed wooden furniture like the pīṭha, tālpa and proṣṭha while the comparatively well-to-do people used the more comfortable bāhya, āsandi and the paryāṅka as well.<sup>1892</sup> Among the domestic utensils we find earthen

<sup>1888</sup> III. 12 ; IX. 3.

<sup>1889</sup> Atharvaveda, IX. 6. 5. (entertaining  
brahmīns ; Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa)  
I. 1. 10. 6 ; III. 7. 4. 6 ; Satapatha

Brāhmaṇa, XII. 4. 4. 6 ; Chhāndogya  
Upaniṣad, IV. 1. 1.

<sup>1890</sup> III 12.

<sup>1891</sup> Atharvaveda, VII. 60. 3, 6 and 7

<sup>1892</sup> See ante, pages 137—38.

cooking pots (ukhā)<sup>1893</sup>, earthen pots like sthāli,<sup>1894</sup> kumbhi<sup>1895</sup> and karambhi,<sup>1896</sup> liquor-pots<sup>1897</sup> and āsecana [ vessel to hold liquids such as meat-juice (yuṣān) ]<sup>1898</sup>; skin bags for holding milk and other liquids;<sup>1899</sup> winnowing basket (sūrpa),<sup>1900</sup> wooden Soma tubs called droṇa-kalasa,<sup>1901</sup> wooden cups,<sup>1902</sup> wooden mortar and pestle for pounding rice<sup>1903</sup> and for extracting soma juice,<sup>1904</sup> fire-shovel or poker made of palāśa wood<sup>1905</sup>, wooden stirring prong,<sup>1906</sup> fork,<sup>1907</sup> and ladles of various kinds—the Sruva, Sruc, Dhruva, Juhu and Upabhr̥t—already described.<sup>1908</sup> The Rāmāyaṇa also refers to the use of boxes (peṭakas)<sup>1909</sup> and iron trunks (louha-mañjuṣā).<sup>1910</sup>

(3) *The food of the people*—The food consisted of various preparations of barley, wheat and rice and other food grains and cereals; flesh of animals like goat, sheep, deer, buffalo and ox, fruit, honey and various preparations of milk.

Barley, wheat and rice were often powdered or boiled and made into various kinds of bread or cakes along with milk and other ingredients. Of such the piṣṭa, puroḍāśa, apūpa and pakti were important. Rice was often boiled in milk to form kṣīraudana which was highly valued as food. Brāhmaudana was offered in the sacrifices.<sup>1911</sup> Other kinds of mess called

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| <p>1893 Atharvaveda, IX. 6. 17; White Yajurveda, XI. 59; Black Yajurveda, IV. 1. 5. 4.</p> <p>1894 Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga.</p> <p>1895 Ibid.</p> <p>1896 Ibid.</p> <p>1897 Ibid., 114th sarga.</p> <p>1898 Rigveda, I, 162. 13.</p> <p>1899 Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, XIV. 11. 26; XVI. 13. 13. Cf. Black Yajurveda, I. 8. 19.</p> <p>1900 Atharvaveda, IX. 6. 16.</p> <p>1901 White Yajurveda, VII. 19; VIII. 12; XIX. 27; Black Yajurveda, III. 1. 6. 1.</p> | <p>1902 White Yajurveda, VIII. 33; XIX. 27; XIX. 33; Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, VI. 3. 1; VI. 3. 13.</p> <p>1903 Atharvaveda, XII. 15.</p> <p>1904 White Yajurveda, I. 14-15; XIII. 33.</p> <p>1905 White Yajurveda, I. 17.</p> <p>1906 Atharvaveda, IX. 6. 17.</p> <p>1907 Ibid.</p> <p>1908 See ante, p. 136.</p> <p>1909 Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 36th and 37th sargas.</p> <p>1910 Ibid., Bālakāṇḍa, 67th sarga.</p> <p>1911 Atharvaveda, IV. 35. 7; XI. 1. 1; Black Yajurveda, III. 4. 8, 7.</p> |
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dadhyaudana, ghr̥taudana, māṃsaudana, mudgaudana, tilaudana and Udaudana were also known and used as food. Of fried grains we find mention of saktu, praivāpa and lāja.

The people seem to have been fond of meat-eating. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1912</sup> there is a passage which distinctly says that when the king or a respected person comes as a guest one should kill a bull or an old barren cow (vehat) for his entertainment. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1913</sup> the slaying of a great ox (mahokṣa) or a great goat (mahāja) for the entertainment of a distinguished guest has been enjoined. The great sage Yājñavalkya also expresses a similar view.<sup>1914</sup> He was "wont to eat the meat of milch cows and bullocks (dehnavanaduha) if only it was firm or tender (amśala)."<sup>1915</sup> We have already seen<sup>1916</sup> that the flesh of the sacrificed bull and the buffaloes was taken besides the flesh of the goat<sup>1917</sup> and the sheep.<sup>1918</sup> The flesh of hunted animals like kṛṣṇasāra<sup>1919</sup> and varāha<sup>1920</sup> and of birds was also taken. The Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1921</sup> besides referring to the use of dried meat as food, also gives us a graphic account of the dainty dishes prepared in Rāvaṇa's kitchen containing boar's flesh prepared with curds and salt, śālyapakva flesh of the deer, flesh of buffalo, cock, peacock, hare, and various kinds of kṛkala.<sup>1922</sup> Meat boiled with rice (māṃsaudana) was also highly prized in those days.

Though we hear very little of fish-eating in the Rigveda, fish was in regular use as food in this period. This is evident not only from the frequent mention of fishermen but also from the large number of words denoting them that came into use e. g., Dāsa, Dhivara, Dhaivara, Kaivarta, Kevarta, Maināla, etc. That fish was caught and offered for sale as food is apparent from the existence of a separate class of men—the fish-vender mentioned in the White Yajurveda.<sup>1923</sup> The Maitrāyaṇa Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad<sup>1924</sup> employs the simile of a fisherman drawing out the denizens of the

<sup>1912</sup> I. 15.

<sup>1913</sup> III. 4. I. 2.

<sup>1914</sup> Vāj. I. 109.

<sup>1915</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 1. 2, 2'.

<sup>1916</sup> See ante, pp. 110-13.

<sup>1917</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyakāṇḍa 91st sarga.

<sup>1918</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1919</sup> Ibid., 56th sarga.

<sup>1920</sup> Ibid., 91st sarga.

<sup>1921</sup> Ibid., 84th sarga.

<sup>1922</sup> Ibid., Sundarakāṇḍa, 11th sarga.

<sup>1923</sup> XXX. 16.

<sup>1924</sup> VI. 26.

waters with a net and offering them up (as a sacrifice) into the fire of his stomach to explain higher philosophical truths. The Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1925</sup> refers to dishes of cooked fish in Rāvaṇa's kitchen. Fish was also offered to the guests and the manes.

We have already seen that the milk of the cow, the buffalo and the goat was used.<sup>1926</sup> The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1927</sup> describes the various articles of food prepared from cow's milk—butter (navanita), creamy butter (phaṇṭa) clarified butter (ghṛta) and curd (dadhi). Mixed milk (payasyā) is also mentioned. The drink consisted of milk and wines of different kinds already described. The Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1928</sup> also refers to another drink called āsava. It was prepared from honey, sugar, flowers and fruits flavoured with various powdered ingredients.<sup>1929</sup>

(4) *Domestic economy*—We have already seen that in the Rigvedic age many of the household duties were entrusted to the women of the house. The gr̥hapatnī was an 'alter ego' of the husband and the Atharvaveda<sup>1930</sup> tells us how she joined her husband in ceremonials and sacrifices and how she had often to take care of the Household Fire. In the marriage hymns she has been described as the queen of the household.<sup>1931</sup> Cooking was left to the wife as is proved by many passages of the Atharvaveda<sup>1932</sup> and the Black Yajurveda<sup>1933</sup> and the cooked food was distributed by the mother (mātā) as philological evidence shows. That the wife had to partake of the husband's burdens and household duties, seems to be indicated by some passages in the marriage hymn of the Atharvaveda. "Blest be the gold to thee, blest the water, blest the yoke's opening and blest the pillar."<sup>1934</sup> Here the yoke's opening stand sym-

<sup>1925</sup> Sundarakāṇḍa, 11th sarga.

<sup>1926</sup> See ante, pp. 110—13.

<sup>1927</sup> III. 3. 3.

<sup>1928</sup> Bālakāṇḍa 53rd sarga; Sundara-kāṇḍa 11th sarga.

<sup>1929</sup> Sundarakāṇḍa, 11th sarga.

<sup>1930</sup> XII. 3.

<sup>1931</sup> Atharvaveda, XIV. 43—44:

"As vigorous Sindhu won himself  
imperial lordship of the streams

So be imperial queen when thou  
hast come in thy husband's home.  
Over thy husband's father and  
his brothers be imperial queen.  
Over thy husband's sister and his  
mother bear supreme control."

<sup>1932</sup> XII. 3. 4.

<sup>1933</sup> V. 1. 7. 1—2.

<sup>1934</sup> Atharvaveda, XIV. 1. 40.

bolical of agricultural operations, while the pillar in the middle of the threshing floor evidently refers to the wife's participation in the work of treading out corn. The tending of the cattle in her husband's house also formed part of her duties as would appear from a passage of the marriage hymn of the Atharvaveda in which Brhaspati is asked to make her gentle to the cattle.<sup>1935</sup> It seems to have been the custom in those days for the bride to weave the garment which the husband is to wear on the first day of his wedded life—das Brauthemde—the bride-shirt of the peasant of Saxony mentioned by Weber : "(May) the garment woven by the bride be soft and pleasant to our touch."<sup>1936</sup> The girls of the house continued to be the milk-maids of the family in this period as well :

"Quickly and willingly like kine forth come the singers and their hymns :  
Their little maidens are at home, at home they wait upon the cows."<sup>1937</sup>

To women of the house was entrusted the work of fetching water,<sup>1938</sup> preparing the Soma drink, churning curds and milk and preparing butter, creamy butter (phāṇṭa) and clarified butter (ghṛta) out of them. It is no wonder, therefore, that among the blessings which the king hopes the Horse-sacrifice will bring to him is the birth of industrious women in his kingdom..<sup>1939</sup>

It is thus evident that the average Vedic householder lived a life of self-sufficiency, depending mainly on his own exertions. He tended his own cattle and his own fields with the help of his kinsmen and the products of his farm and dairy supplied almost all the needs of his family. There was at first very little of luxury as well as of scarcity.

(5) *Development of capitalism and of a landed aristocracy*—But this state of affairs did not last long. Conquest brought in wealth and with the growth of towns luxury invaded society. Gambling and want of thrift reduced families to want and poverty and much of this wealth passed into other hands. The existence of little restrictions on transfers, whether of cattle or of real property together with the almost unfettered power

<sup>1935</sup> Ibid., 1. 62.

<sup>1936</sup> Ibid., 2. 51.

<sup>1937</sup> Ibid., XX. 127. 5.

<sup>1938</sup> White Yajurveda, XVI. 7.

<sup>1939</sup> Ibid., XXII. 22.

of the pater familias in the matter of disposal of property helped the growth of capitalism. Usury came to be the occupation of the rich, some of the merchants made huge profits and money came to be accumulated into the hands of the few. We have already seen<sup>1940</sup> that the Rigveda refers to the Maghavans who were famous for their wealth and liberality. An idea of the wealth of the princes of this period may be gathered from the account of gifts bestowed by them on brahmins, even though the accounts be a bit exaggerated and the figures conventional, as they come mostly from the recipients of these gifts. Thus besides ordinary gifts Janaka bestowed one thousand cows with twenty thousand pādas of gold to the best read brahmin.<sup>1941</sup> Again, we hear of the liberality of a worshipper who gave eighty-five thousand white horses, ten thousand elephants and eighty thousand slave girls adorned with ornaments to the brahmin who performed the sacrifice.<sup>1942</sup> We also find the gift of a village by Janaśruti to Raikka, when the latter agreed to teach him the Deity he worships.<sup>1943</sup> Kaurama, king of the Ruṣamas gave away twenty camels with females by their side, one hundred chains of gold, three hundred mettled steeds and ten thousand cows.<sup>1944</sup> We also notice, besides the Maghavans and the princes, the growth of a landed aristocracy<sup>1945</sup> due either to the acquisition of superior rights by men of merit over equals in the village or to the custom of granting villages to sacrificial priests and śrotriyas.

(6) *Princely palaces*—These princes and richer people lived in comparatively comfortable dwellings called harmya in the Rigveda.<sup>1946</sup> The harmya primarily denoting a unity including the stables etc,<sup>1947</sup> very soon added on the qualification of being protected by a wall of some sort.<sup>1948</sup> In the Rigveda we find a harmyeṣṭhaḥ prince standing probably

<sup>1940</sup> See ante, p. 78.

<sup>1941</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIV. This story is repeated in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, III. 1. 1 ff.

<sup>1942</sup> Weber—Indische Studien, X. p. 54. See also Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, II. 6. 3. 9; IV. 1. 11; IV. 3. 4. 6; Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, III. 2. 5. 11—12.

<sup>1943</sup> Chhāndogya Upaniṣad, III. 2. 4.

<sup>1944</sup> Atharvaveda, XX. 127. 2—3.

<sup>1945</sup> See ante, pp. 88—89.

<sup>1946</sup> I. 121. 1; I. 166. 4; IX. 71. 4; IX. 78. 3; X. 43. 3; X. 73. 10.

<sup>1947</sup> Rigveda, VII. 56. 16; cf. X. 106. 5.

<sup>1948</sup> Ibid., VII. 55. 6.



on the roof or rather the balcony of his palace<sup>1949</sup> just as any later Indian king would do to please his people. When the Atharvaveda thinks of a residence for Yama, it is a *harmya*.<sup>1950</sup> Some details regarding this *harmya* are to be found in the literature of this period dealing with *Rājasūya*.<sup>1951</sup> During this sacrifice the 'ratna-havis' rite was to be performed at the house of the king's ratnins' including the Chief Queen and the Household officers so that Ratnins' houses must have been round about or adjacent to the king's *harmya*, being in the same royal and sacrificial area; and the separate houses of the sacrificing king's *mahiṣi*, *vāvatā* and *parivṛkti* indicate the existence of a complex palace of the harem type. The royal officer called *kṣattri*<sup>1952</sup> does the work of the distributor of the king's gifts in the Rigveda and the Atharvaveda, that of the gate-keeper in the Yajurveda and early Brāhmaṇas and that of the harem superintendent (*antaḥ-purādhyakṣa*) in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa. The princes and nobles also employed *dāsi*'s for doing all sorts of domestic drudgery like husking and winnowing grain<sup>1953</sup> and collecting the alkaline droppings of the cow.<sup>1954</sup> They usually maintained a large number of attendants,<sup>1955</sup> cooks,<sup>1956</sup> servants,<sup>1957</sup> messengers,<sup>1958</sup> waiters,<sup>1959</sup> door-keepers<sup>1960</sup> and bath-attendants.<sup>1961</sup>

The description of Kaikeyi's Mahala with its separate *krodhāgāra*, *citragrha* (picture-gallery) *latāgrha* (grove) and many rooms furnished with altars and seats made of gold, silver and ivory; <sup>1962</sup> of Yuvarāja Rama's Mahala with its white gate decked with gems and pearls and crowned with a golden image, with images of tigers made of different metals here and there,

<sup>1949</sup> Ibid, VII. 56. 16. (Geldner—Vedische Studien, 2, 272, n. 2; Alt. Leb. 149).

<sup>1950</sup> Atharvaveda, XVIII. 4. 55.

<sup>1951</sup> Black Yajurveda, I. 8. 9. 1 ff; Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā, II. 6. 5; IV. 38; Kāthaka Saṃhitā, XV. 4; Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, I. 7. 31 ff; Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, V. 3. 1. 1. ff.

<sup>1952</sup> Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, Vol. I., p. 201.

<sup>1953</sup> Atharvaveda, XII. 3. 13.

<sup>1954</sup> Ibid., XII. 4. 9.

<sup>1955</sup> Atharvaveda, IX. 6. 50-51.

<sup>1956</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 80th sarga.

<sup>1957</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 13.

<sup>1958</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1959</sup> Ibid., XXX. 9.

<sup>1960</sup> Ibid., XXX. 13.

<sup>1961</sup> Ibid., XXX. 12.

<sup>1962</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 10th sarga.

with its rooms adorned with the paintings of skilful artists ;<sup>1963</sup> of Rāvaṇa's palace ornamented with plastered jewelled pavements, studded with gems, crystals and pearls, with elephants of burnished gold and speckless white silver, girt round by a mighty wall, furnished with golden doors with beautiful golden stairs embellished with ornaments of burnished gold, with lofty edifices having excellent windows made of ivory and silver, with golden nets, with its beautiful latāgrha's (groves), citragrha (picture-gallery), kṛdāgrha (play-room), kāmagrha, divā-vihāra-grha and artificial mountains made of wood<sup>1964</sup> show the improvement of art and the luxury of the age. Well might Hanumāna exclaim at the sight of the bed-chamber of Rāvaṇa with its jewelled staircase illumined with heaps of gems, its terraces of crystal and statues of ivory, pearls, diamonds, corals, silver and gold, adorned with jewelled pillars, furnished with carpets, golden lamps,<sup>1965</sup> crystal altar, bed-stead with ivory legs decked with gold, artificial ladies with fly-flappers in their hands moving by mechanism<sup>1966</sup> that this must be svarga !

(7) *Growth of luxury*—The luxury of the age is equally evident as much from the use of the large number of gold and silver ornaments and jewellery already described as from the use of toilette of various kinds (snāna-dravya) kept in different pots,<sup>1967</sup> sandal powder (candanakalka),<sup>1968</sup> sandal paste,<sup>1969</sup> aguru paste,<sup>1970</sup> white paste,<sup>1971</sup> sticks to brush the teeth with<sup>1972</sup> and of hair-comb (kañkatikā).<sup>1973</sup> Maṇḥṣilā, a red-coloured mineral product found in the mountains (girija-dhātu)<sup>1974</sup> was used by ladies to colour their cheek. In the Rāmāyaṇa Sītā asks Hanumāna to remind Rāma of the fact that one day he painted with his own hands the cheek of Sītā with tilakas of maṇḥṣilā.<sup>1975</sup> It was usual for the comparatively well-to-do people to burn aguru and sandal wood,<sup>1976</sup> resin

<sup>1963</sup> Ibid, 15th sarga.

<sup>1964</sup> Ibid., Sundarakāṇḍa, 6th sarga.

<sup>1965</sup> Ibid., 9th sarga.

<sup>1966</sup> Ibid., 10th sarga.

<sup>1967</sup> Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga.

<sup>1968</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1969</sup> Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 78th and 91st sargas ; Sundarakāṇḍa, 10th sarga.

<sup>1970</sup> Ibid, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga.

<sup>1971</sup> Ibid, Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 26th sarga.

<sup>1972</sup> Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga.

<sup>1973</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1974</sup> Ibid., Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 26th sarga; Sundarakāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

<sup>1975</sup> Ibid, Sundarakāṇḍa, 40th sarga.

<sup>1976</sup> Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 14th, 76th and 88th sargas.

(śāla-niryyās)<sup>1977</sup> and various other kinds of incense (gandhadravya).<sup>1978</sup> Not only do we find mention of the gandhajīvi<sup>1979</sup> but also of perfumes<sup>1980</sup> and ointments<sup>1981</sup> made by them. In the White Yajurveda the ointment-maker (who is usually a female) is mentioned<sup>1982</sup> and we are told that in the Soma sacrifice the Adhvaryu priest anoints the eyes of the sacrificer with collyrium.<sup>1983</sup> Collyrium-pots are mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1984</sup> and the anointing instrument in the Black Yajurveda.<sup>1985</sup> The anointing instrument was called iṣika, as opposed to śalali which is used by men according to the Kāthaka Saṃhitā<sup>1986</sup> and Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā.<sup>1987</sup> According to Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1988</sup> the anointing instrument was a reed stalk (sareṣikā) with a tuft. In the Black Yajurveda<sup>1989</sup> the mythological origin of collyrium is thus told: "Indra slew Vṛtra; his eye-ball fell away; it became collyrium." We also hear of musk (kasturi),<sup>1990</sup> lac (lākṣā),<sup>1991</sup> of saffron (kumkum)<sup>1992</sup> for colouring food<sup>1993</sup> and of flavouring ingredients for food.<sup>1994</sup> The use of umbrella,<sup>1995</sup> chāmara (fly flapper),<sup>1996</sup> wooden sandals<sup>1997</sup> and leather-shoes<sup>1998</sup> was also known in this age.

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| 1977 | Ibid., 76th sarga.   | Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 75th sarga; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 23rd sarga.  |
| 1978 | Ibid.; Ibid., Sundarakāṇḍa 10th sarga.   |   |
| 1979 | Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga.   | 1992 Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa 26th sarga.  |
| 1980 | Chhândogya Upaniṣad, VIII. 2. 6; VIII. 8. 5; Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, I. 4.   | 1993 Ibid., Sundarakāṇḍa, 11th sarga.   |
| 1981 | Black Yajurveda, VI. 1. 1. 5—6; Kāthaka Saṃhitā, XXIII. 1; Kapiṣṭhala Saṃhitā, XXXV. 7; Maitrāyaṇi, Saṃhitā, III. 6. 1—3; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 1. 3. 13. | 1994 Ibid.  |
| 1982 | White Yajurveda, XXX. 14.  | 1995 Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 14th, 45th and 91st sargas; Araṇyakāṇḍa, 35th and 51st sargas; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa 10th and 26th sargas; Sundarakāṇḍa, 10th sarga; Laṅkākāṇḍa, 11th and 129th sargas. |
| 1983 | Ibid., IV. 3.  | 1996 Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 14th, 15th, 16th and 91st sargas; Araṇyakāṇḍa, 35th and 51st sargas; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 10th and 26th sargas; Laṅkākāṇḍa, 11th and 129th sargas.                    |
| 1984 | Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 91st Sarga.  | 1997 Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 91st, 112th and 113th sargas; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 26th sarga.  |
| 1985 | VI. 1. 1. 6.   | 1998 See ante, p 140.   |
| 1986 | XXIII. 1.  |   |
| 1987 | III. 6. 1—3,   |   |
| 1988 | III. 1. 3. 13.   |   |
| 1989 | VI. 1. 1. 5.   |   |
| 1990 | Rāmāyaṇa, Laṅkākāṇḍa, 75th Sarga.  |   |
| 1991 | Atharvaveda, V. 5. 7; Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, II. 3. 6;  |   |

(8) *Existence of social inequalities*—Side by side with richer people enjoying these luxuries we find also peoples in debt. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa VIII. 11 we read : “To overcome the foe thou movest like one taking payment for debt ; hail !” Debts were contracted for various purposes, gambling being one of them.<sup>1999</sup> The amount of interest payable is impossible to make out. There is a passage in the Atharvaveda<sup>2000</sup> where an eighth and sixteenth are mentioned as paid ; but, it is quite uncertain whether interest or an instalment of the principal is meant. The Atharvaveda contains prayers to Agni for absolution from sin arising out of non-payment of debt<sup>2001</sup> and for release from debts incurred without intention of payment.<sup>2002</sup> In another hymn of the Atharvaveda<sup>2003</sup> the reciter prays to the two Apsaras (Ugrajit and Ugrampasyā) for forgiveness for incurring debt in dice-play. Such prayers are really significant in as much as they show not only an advanced state of society with frequent occurrence of debt but also a corrupt state of affairs where people contracted debt with the intention of non-payment, though at the same time non-payment of debt was regarded as a sin which brought evil consequences in the next world.

**The state in relation to economic life**—Before we conclude this chapter something may be said about the part the head of the state was expected to play in moulding the economic life of the people. The Coronation ritual proves beyond doubt that not only was it the duty of the ruler to protect the life and property of his subjects but also to promote their material welfare. Thus the priest during the Coronation ceremony addresses the ruler as follows :

“This is thy Sovereignty. Thou art the ruler, thou art controller, thou art firm and steadfast.

<sup>1999</sup> Black Yajurveda, V. 4. 4. 4 ; V. 6. 6. 1 ; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V. 4. 3. 19 ; Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, III. 3 ; Pañchaviṃśa, Brāhmaṇa, XVII. 14. 16 ; Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, 91st sarga.

<sup>2000</sup> VI. 47. 32 = Rīgveda, VIII. 47. 17.

<sup>2001</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 117.

<sup>2002</sup> Ibid., VI. 119.

<sup>2003</sup> Ibid., VI. 118. According to Mahārṣi Saunaka the Rīg mantras beginning

with kakāra and ending with hakāra if uttered thirty thousand times would bring freedom from debt. Rīg VIII. 30. 4 if uttered eight or twenty-eight times a day for six months would bring freedom from debt. The mantra (1st Aṣṭaka, 2nd Adhyāya, 13th Varga) beginning with “Kasya nūnam” if uttered with priyangu and honey will bring freedom from debt.

Thee for land culture, thee for peace and quiet, thee for wealth, thee for increase of our substance.<sup>2004</sup>

In the Rāmāyaṇa we similarly find Rāma asking Bharata whether the people are living happily in his kingdom ; whether the agriculturist and the cowherd find favour in his sight ; whether every day in the morning he watches from the balcony of his palace the prosperity of his subjects passing through the high roads ; whether royal forests and cattle are well-protected ; whether the forts are always filled with wealth, grains, weapons, water-appliances (jala-yantra), artisans and skilled archers ; whether his income is always greater than the expenditure ; whether the physicians and other notables are always kept in good humour by sweet words, gifts and honours.<sup>2005</sup> It is thus evident that the economic side of national life was to receive its fullest attention from the head of the state. The ideal of happiness which the king prays to the gods for his country to attain will be evident from the following hymn in connection with the Horse-sacrifice :

“O Brahman, let there be born in the kingdom the Brahmin illustrious for religious knowledge ; let there be born the Rājanya, a skilled archer, piercing with shafts, a mighty warrior ; the cow giving abundant milk ; the ox good at carrying ; the swift courser ; the industrious woman. May Parjanya send rain according to our desire ; may our fruit-bearing plants ripen ; may acquisition and preservation of property be secured to us.”<sup>2006</sup>

We have evidence in the panygerics of rulers how the theoretical concept of royal duty was translated into practice. In the eulogy which a subject of Parikṣit bestows, he makes particular mention of the fact that agriculture and cattle-rearing were in a prosperous condition, that the subjects of Parikṣit not only thrived well but also lived in unbroken peace and happiness under his rule.<sup>2007</sup>

<sup>2004</sup> White Yajurveda, IX. 22.

<sup>2005</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 100th sarga.

<sup>2006</sup> White Yajurveda, XXII. 22.

<sup>2007</sup> Atharvaveda, XX. 127.

## CHAPTER VI.

### The Age of Gautama Buddha.

(600 B.C.—321 B.C.)

The chief sources of our knowledge of the economic conditions prevailing in this period are the Jātakas or the Birth-stories of Buddha and to a more limited extent the Vinaya and the Suttapiṭakas. It is true that the Jātakas are mere stories ; but it is fairly clear that the folk in those tales have given them a parochial setting and local colour. And this evidence from the Jātakas is frequently borne out by the coincident testimony of other books not dealing with folk-lore. Of such books which furnish corroborative evidence, the Sūtras (specially the Gr̥hyasūtras, Śrautasūtras and the Sūtras of Pāṇini) and the works of Greek writers like Herodotus are important. Whatever may be the age of their representative works in their present form, the Sūtras undoubtedly had their roots in a period at least as early as the rise of Jainism and Buddhism. The purpose of the Sūtras, so called from the sūtra which means a thread, is to afford a clue through the mazes of Brahminical learning contained in the Brāhmaṇas and the earliest of them represent a phase which is transitional between the language of the Brāhmaṇas and Classical Sanskrit as fixed by the grammarians.

**Towns**—This period is marked by a remarkable growth of towns<sup>2008</sup> and the development of town-life which is so closely associated with the growth of industry and commerce. According to the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta<sup>2009</sup> there were some “great cities (mahānagara) such as Champā, Rājagṛha, Śrāvastī, Sāketa, Kauśāmvī and Benares” as against “this little wattel and daub

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<sup>2008</sup> Aristobulus when he was sent on a commission by Alexander to a region left desert by a shifting of the Indus to the east, saw the remains of over a thousand towns

and villages, once full of men (Aristobulus, Frag. 39 = Strabo XV. C. 693).

<sup>2009</sup> V. 4. = S. B. E., Vol. XI. p. 99.

town" of Kuśinagara." We get the following list of towns from the literature of this period :—(1) Ālavī<sup>2010</sup> (= Sanskrit Āṭavī). It was situated near the bank of the Ganges on the way from Śrāvastī to Rājagṛha and thirty-five yojanas away from Śrāvastī; (2) Andhapura on the bank of Telavāhanada;<sup>2011</sup> (3) Anupiya in Malladeśa;<sup>2012</sup> (4) Ariṣṭapura in the Śivi country.<sup>2013</sup> It had four gates;<sup>2014</sup> (5) Asitāñjana;<sup>2015</sup> (6) Assapura, a nigama in Anga;<sup>2016</sup> (7) Ayojjhā=(Sans. Ayodhyā);<sup>2017</sup> (8) Aṭṭaka in Anga;<sup>2018</sup> (9) Vārāṇasī (= Benares).<sup>2019</sup> It was surrounded by a wall,<sup>2020</sup> pierced by gates<sup>2021</sup> with watch-towers over them.<sup>2022</sup> It was served by a good system of drains<sup>2023</sup> through one of which a prince fled from the hands of the invaders.<sup>1024</sup> It was famous for her scents<sup>2025</sup> and textile fabrics;<sup>2026</sup> (10) Bhadravātikā;<sup>2027</sup> (11) Bhṛgukachchha;<sup>2028</sup> (12) Brahmot-tara;<sup>2029</sup> (13) Champī, ancient capital of Anga.<sup>2030</sup> It was surrounded by a wall, pierced by gates with watch-towers over them;<sup>2031</sup> (14) Danta-

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| <p><sup>2010</sup> Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by A. F. R. Hoernle) p. 52; Tri-paryasta Jātaka (No. 16); Maṇi-kaṇṭha (No. 253).</p> <p><sup>2011</sup> Serivāpij Jātaka (No. 3).</p> <p><sup>2012</sup> Sukhavahāri Jātaka (No. 10).</p> <p><sup>2013</sup> Śivi Jātaka (No. 499);</p> <p><sup>2014</sup> Unmādayanti Jātaka (No. 527); Śivi Jātaka (No. 499).</p> <p><sup>2015</sup> Ghaṭa Jātaka (No. 454).</p> <p><sup>2016</sup> Majjhima Nikāya.</p> <p><sup>2017</sup> Vimānavatthu Commentary, p. 82.</p> <p><sup>2018</sup> Majjhima Nikāya.</p> <p><sup>2019</sup> Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by Hoernle), p. 52; Dīgha Nikāya, XIX. 86; Vimānavatthu Com-mentary, p. 82; Apāṇṇaka Jātaka (No. 1); Vāṇṇupatha (No. 2); Taṇḍulanālī (No. 5); Devadharma (No. 6); Tailapātra (No. 96) etc.</p> <p><sup>2020</sup> Gṛdhra Jātaka (No. 164); Saṃgrā-māvacara Jātaka (No. 182).</p> <p><sup>2021</sup> Khadirāṅgāra Jātaka (No. 40);</p> | <p>Mahāśilavaja (No. 51); Chulla-padma (No. 193); Bhīmasena (No. 80); also Nos. 156 and 34).</p> <p><sup>2022</sup> Saṃgrāmāvacara Jātaka (No. 182)</p> <p><sup>2023</sup> Śṛgāla Jātaka (Nos. 113 and 142).</p> <p><sup>2024</sup> Aśātarūpaka Jātaka (No. 100).</p> <p><sup>2025</sup> Bhīmasena Jātaka (No. 80).</p> <p><sup>2026</sup> Bhīmasena (No. 80); Kāma-vilāpa (No. 297); Mahāśvāroha (No. 302); Madiyaka (No. 390); Viśa (No. 488); Mahāvāpij (No. 493); Soṇananda (No. 532); Mahāhaṃsa (No. 534); Khaṇḍa-hāla (No. 542); Mahāunmārga (No. 546); Viśwantara (No. 547);</p> <p><sup>2027</sup> Surāpāna Jātaka (No. 81).</p> <p><sup>2028</sup> Suśroṇī Jātaka (No. 360); Supāraga Jātaka (No. 463).</p> <p><sup>2029</sup> Divyāvadāna (Maitrakanyakāvadāna)</p> <p><sup>2030</sup> Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by Hoernle), p. 52; Dīgha Nikāya, XIX 86;</p> <p><sup>2031</sup> Mahājanaka Jātaka (No. 539).</p> |
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pura on the coast of Kalinga ;<sup>2032</sup> (15) Deśaka in Śumbha kingdom ; (16) Gambhirāpattana, a port ;<sup>2033</sup> (17) Halidda-vamsa, a nigama in the Koliya country ;<sup>2034</sup> (18) Indapattha ;<sup>2035</sup> (19) Jetuttara in the Śivi country.<sup>2036</sup> It was surrounded by a wall pierced by gates ;<sup>2037</sup> (20) Kāmpilya, the capital of N. Pañchāla ;<sup>2038</sup> (21) Kośāmvī (Kauśāmvī),<sup>2039</sup> the capital of Vatsarāja Udayana. According to Cunningham it is modern Kośam on the bank of the Jumna, thirty miles N. W. of Allahabad. It was an important halting place both for goods and passengers coming to Magadha ; (22) Kapilavastu<sup>2040</sup> on the bank of the river Rohiṇī 100 miles north of Benares, birth-place of Gautama Buddha ; (23) Kitagiri<sup>2041</sup> a nigama in the Kāśī kingdom ; (24) Kusinārā<sup>2042</sup> (= Kuśanagara). It is modern Kāśī, 35 miles East of Gorakhpur. It was surrounded by a wall ;<sup>2043</sup> (25) Kāveripattana in the Drāviḍa country ;<sup>2044</sup> (26) Kajangala. It was the name of a city according to the commentator of Viśa Jātaka where there was a vihāra at the time of Kāśyapa Buddha ; (27) Kuṇḍiya ;<sup>2045</sup> Koli on the bank of the river Rohiṇī, just opposite to Kapilavastu. Devadatta and Yaśodhārā belonged to the ruling family of this city ; (29) Madhurā (Mathurā), capital<sup>2046</sup> of the Surasenas ; (30) Māhissatī ;<sup>2047</sup>

<sup>2032</sup> Digha Nikāya, XIX. 86 ; Kurudharma Jātaka (No. 276) ; Khullakalinga (No. 301) ; Kumbhakāra (No. 408) ; Kalingavodhi (No. 479).

<sup>2033</sup> Lośaka Jātaka (No. 41).

<sup>2034</sup> Majjhima Nikāya.

<sup>2035</sup> Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by Hoernle), p. 52 ; Kurudharma (No. 276) ; Mahāsutasoma (No. 537).

<sup>2036</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).

<sup>2037</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2038</sup> Uvāsagadasao, Lecture X. Vimānavatthu Commentary, p. 82. Kumbhakāra Jātaka (No. 408).

<sup>2039</sup> Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by Hoernle), p. 52 ; Vimānavatthu Commentary, p. 82. Its drainage system is referred to in Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana Jātaka (No. 444).

Compare the epithet Kauśāmveya in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XII. 2. 13 and in Gopatha Brāhmaṇa I. 4. 24. According to the Rāmāyaṇa, (I. 32. 6) and Kāśikā commentary on (Pāṇini's Sūtra, IV. 2, 68) : tena nirvritam, Kauśāmvī was founded by prince Kuśāmva.

<sup>2040</sup> Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by Hoernle) p. 52.

<sup>2041</sup> Majjhima Nikāya.

<sup>2042</sup> Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by Hoernle), p. 52 ; Mahāsudarśana Jātaka (No. 95).

<sup>2043</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2044</sup> Akīrti Jātaka (No. 480).

<sup>2045</sup> Aśātarūpaka Jātaka (No. 100).

<sup>2046</sup> Vimānavatthu Commentary, p. 82,

<sup>2047</sup> Digha Nikāya, XIX. 86.



(31) Mithilā;<sup>2048</sup> (32) Nandana;<sup>2049</sup> (33) Polāsapura;<sup>2050</sup> (34) Potana;<sup>2051</sup> (35) Patitṭhāna (= Paithan); (36) Pātaliputtaka;<sup>2052</sup> (37) Potali in the Kāśī kingdom;<sup>2053</sup> (38) Potali in Aśvaka kingdom.<sup>2054</sup> Its gates are also referred to;<sup>2055</sup> (39) Roruka,<sup>2056</sup> capital of Sovira. It was an important centre of coasting trade; (40) Ramanaka;<sup>2057</sup> (41) Rājagaha (= Rājagiha =<sup>2058</sup> Rājagṛha; (42) Sāgala;<sup>2059</sup> (43) Śrāvastī,<sup>2060</sup> capital of Uttara Kośala. It is modern Sēth Mahētha in the Gonda district of U. P., ten miles north of Valarāmapura, on the bank of the river Aciravatī (modern Rāptī). Its gates are also referred to;<sup>2061</sup> (44) Sāṃkāśyā (= Pāli Samkissa).<sup>2062</sup> It is modern Sāṃkiśa on the Kālī river in the Farakkabad district; (45) Surundhana in the Kāśī kingdom;<sup>2063</sup> (46) Sadāṃmatta;<sup>2064</sup> (47) Śākala<sup>2065</sup> in the land of the Madra's (= modern Sialkot); (48) Sāketa<sup>2066</sup> (otherwise known as Ayodhyā or Viśīkhī) on the bank of the river Saraju in the Faizabad district; (49) Sālatura;<sup>2067</sup> (50) Śarkarā, a nigama near Rājagṛha;<sup>2068</sup> (51) Setavya;<sup>2069</sup> (52) Sagula;<sup>2070</sup> (53) Sum-

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| <p><sup>2048</sup> Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by Hoernle), p. 52; Vimānavatthu Commentary, p. 82; Dīgha Nikāya, XIX. 86; Makhādeva Jātaka (No. 9); Gāndhāra (No. 406); Kumbhakāra (No. 408); Mahājanaka (No. 538).</p> <p><sup>2049</sup> Divyāvadāna (Maitrakanyakāvadāna)</p> <p><sup>2050</sup> Uvāsagadasao, Lecture X.</p> <p><sup>2051</sup> Assakānāica Potanam—Dīgha Nikāya, XIX. 86.</p> <p><sup>2052</sup> Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by Hoernle), p. 52.</p> <p><sup>2053</sup> Aśvaka Jātaka (No. 207).</p> <p><sup>2054</sup> Khullakalinga Jātaka (No. 301).</p> <p><sup>2055</sup> Ibid.</p> <p><sup>2056</sup> Dīgha Nikāya, XIX. 86; Ādīpta Jātaka (No. 424).</p> <p><sup>2057</sup> Divyāvadāna (Maitrakanyakāvadāna).</p> <p><sup>2058</sup> Uvāsagadasao, Lecture X; Jātaka Nos. 4, 11, 14, 37 etc. It was once the capital of Magadha.</p> | <p><sup>2059</sup> Vimānavatthu Commentary, p. 82.</p> <p><sup>2060</sup> Jātaka Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 27, 37, 41, 44, 54, 75, 103 etc.</p> <p><sup>2061</sup> Avīkṣṇa Jātaka (No. 27).</p> <p><sup>2062</sup> Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by Hoernle), p. 52; Jātaka Nos. 29, 134, 135 etc.</p> <p><sup>2063</sup> Udaya Jātaka (No. 456).</p> <p><sup>2064</sup> Divyāvadāna (Maitrakanyakāvadāna).</p> <p><sup>2065</sup> Kalingavodhi Jātaka (No. 479); Kuśa (No. 531).</p> <p><sup>2066</sup> Buddhist Suttas—Rhys Davids, p. 99; Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by Hoernle), p. 52; Vimānavatthu Commentary, p. 82; Sāketa Jātaka (Nos. 68 and 237).</p> <p><sup>2067</sup> Pāpini.</p> <p><sup>2068</sup> Illisa Jātaka (No. 78).</p> <p><sup>2069</sup> Uvāsagadasao, Lecture X.</p> <p><sup>2070</sup> Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by Hoernle), p. 52.</p> |
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sumāra<sup>2071</sup>; (54) Suppāraka; <sup>2072</sup> (55) Svātivatī in Chedi kingdom; <sup>2073</sup> (56) Takkhaśīlā (Taxila).<sup>2074</sup> Its gates are referred to; <sup>2075</sup> (57) Ujjain in Avanti; <sup>2076</sup> (58) Ukkatṭha; <sup>2077</sup> (59) Uttara Mathurā; <sup>2078</sup> (60) Vaiśālī<sup>2079</sup> (= Pāli Vesālī). According to Cunningham it is modern Beśāra, 20 miles north of Hājipur. It was surrounded by three walls each at a distance of one gabyūti (=two miles) pierced by three gates with watch-towers over them.<sup>2080</sup> With its suburbs of Kulluga and Kundagāma Vaiśālī was called Vaniyagāma according to Jaina tradition.<sup>2081</sup>

(a) *Origin of towns* :—Some of these were in their beginnings mere villages and gradually developed into towns. In the Jayaddviṣa Jātaka<sup>2082</sup> we are told that a certain king made settlement on a certain mountain, brought virgin soil under cultivation by clearing off the jungles and bringing a thousand families with much treasure founded a big village. This village, we are told, grew into a town (Khullakalmāṣa by name). The town of Kammasadamma also grew out of a village<sup>2083</sup> The growth of villages into towns is further shown by the fact that some terms while generally meaning towns also mean villages e. g., khetṭa, pattana, kārvata etc.<sup>2084</sup> In fact, one of the most potent factors which influenced the amalgamation of several villages into a city or a capital was the political condition of ancient India. Mr. Havell<sup>2085</sup> well remarks "A natural consequence of the consolidation of Aryan tribal system into these larger states and kingdoms was the gradual development of the village settlements into larger towns and cities planned on the same prin-

<sup>2071</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2072</sup> Buddhist India—Rhys Davids, p. 31.

<sup>2073</sup> Chedi Jātaka (No. 422).

<sup>2074</sup> Uvāsagadasao—Hoernle's trans. p. 52; Pāṇini; Jātaka Nos. 61, 71, 96, 408.

<sup>2075</sup> Palāyi Jātaka (No. 229).

<sup>2076</sup> Chitrasambhūta Jātaka (No. 498).

<sup>2077</sup> Uvāsagadasao—Hoernle's trans. p. 52; Rhys Davids—Dialogues of the Buddha.

<sup>2078</sup> Ghaṭa Jātaka (No. 454).

<sup>2079</sup> Uvāsagadasao—Hoernle's trans. p. 52; Vimānavattu Commentary, p. 82; Tittira (No. 37); Ekapaṇṇa No. 149).

<sup>2080</sup> Ekapaṇṇa Jātaka (No. 149).

<sup>2081</sup> Uvāsagadasao—Hoernle, p. 4.

<sup>2082</sup> No. 513.

<sup>2083</sup> Mahāsutasoma Jātaka (No. 537)

<sup>2084</sup> History of Aryan Rule in India, p. 38.

<sup>2085</sup> Vijayanti by Yādavaprakāśa, p. 159, LL. 1-5 p. 232, L. 2; Mayamatam, Ch. IX.

ciples in which wards or village units, were grouped round the royal palace and the citadel."

Some of the towns were fortresses in the midst of a collection of villages and these fortresses grew into towns. According to the *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta*<sup>2086</sup> Ajātaśatru of Magadha built a fortress at Pātali-grāma to check the advance of the Vajjis. This village and the fortress grew up into the town of Pātaliputra in the course of two generations.<sup>2087</sup> The hill-fortress of Girivraja four miles and a half in circumference which was said to have been built by Mahāgovinda, the architect also grew into a town.

The necessity of a trading post led to the growth of many commercial towns in India also as in other countries. A centre of trade is very likely to be posted on or near by the well-known trade-routes of the Ancient World and Taxila is a case in point. "The valley in which the remains of Taxila lie is a singularly pleasant one, well-watered by the Haro river and its tributaries, and protected by a girdle of hills;—on the north and east by the snow-mountains of Hazra and the Murree ridge, on the south and west by the well-known Margalla spur and other lower eminences. This position on the great trade-routes which used to connect Hindusthan with Central and Western Asia, coupled with the strength of its natural defences, fertility of the soil, and a constant supply of good water readily accounts for the importance of the city in early times."<sup>2088</sup>

(b) *Town-planning* :—Though we have no detailed description of the town-plan in early literature the fragmentary evidences concur in describing an Indian city as surrounded by walls pierced by lofty gates and defended by a moat or even three moats; and as divided into different wards or quarters which were allotted to men of different castes and trades excepting the Chāṇḍālas who lived outside the city. In the *Pāṇḍara Jātaka*<sup>2089</sup> we are told that one should

<sup>2086</sup> I. 26—S. B. E., Vol. XI. p. 18.

<sup>2087</sup> V. A. Smith—*Early History of India*, 4th edition. p. 39.

<sup>2088</sup> Sir J. Marshall—*Guide to Taxila*, pp. 1—2

<sup>2089</sup> No. 518.

keep a secret carefully guarded in his mind just as a city is strongly guarded by being girt round by deep moats. In the Mahājanaka Jātaka<sup>2090</sup> we are told that expert sthapati's have built the walls, wards and places of the city of Mithilā after proper calculation and measurement, have beautified it with gates (torāṇa), watch-towers (aṭṭalakas) and well laid out (suvinyasta) roads and kūṭagāra's made according to proper measurements (yathāmāna). From the Mahānūmārga Jātaka<sup>2091</sup> we learn that the king dug three moats round Mithilā—a water-moat, a mud-moat and a dry moat. The city of Kuśāvati was surrounded by seven ramparts (vapra) with four gates.<sup>2092</sup> The story of how king Pasenadi of Kośala was kept out of his capital by the stratagem of Digha Kārāyaṇa<sup>2093</sup> and how this made him lose his kingdom also proves the existence of completely walled up cities and of the stringent rules for closing the city-gates.<sup>2094</sup> From the Uvāsagadasao we find that the kṣatriya quarter of Vesālī was different from that of the brahmins. From that Jātakas we learn of the ivory-workers' bazaar (danta-vīthi),<sup>2095</sup> weavers' place (palli)<sup>2096</sup> and vaiśya quarter (vīthi)<sup>2097</sup> in Benares, florists' quarter (utpalavīthi)<sup>2098</sup> and cooks' quarter<sup>2099</sup> in Śrāvastī. The evil consequence upon the corporate life of the city of segregating people into detached wards where they could be liable to develop different habits and customs was provided against by the composite wards or simple residential blocks, by the establishment of temples in the centre with magnificent debating halls and rest-houses where all sorts of people congregated together irrespective of their caste. Moreover, caste-distinction prevented one thing ; it did not make poverty a crime and did not divide the city into two parts like the East End and the West End of London.

(c) *Corporate life in the towns* :—As a matter of fact, we find a sturdy spirit of corporate life in these cities. In the Kaṇḍikapūpa Jātaka<sup>2100</sup> we find that by raising subscriptions (chhandaka), the

<sup>2090</sup> No. 538.

<sup>2091</sup> No. 546.

<sup>2092</sup> Mahāsudassana Sutta, I. 3—6  
(—S. B. E., Vol. XI. pp. 449—51.

<sup>2093</sup> In Buddhist literature he is known  
as Dīrgha Cārāyaṇa.

<sup>2094</sup> Bhadrāsāla Jātaka (No. 465).

<sup>2095</sup> Kāṣāya Jātaka (No. 221); Śīla-  
vannāga (72).

<sup>2096</sup> Bhīmasena Jātaka (No. 80).

<sup>2097</sup> Viśvantara Jātaka (No. 547).

<sup>2098</sup> Padma Jātaka (No. 261).

<sup>2099</sup> Māṃsa Jātaka (No. 315).

<sup>2100</sup> No. 109.

citizens of Śrāvastī used to supply food on certain occasions to the monks of the Buddhist saṃgha in the city. Another example of such a corporate gift (gaṇa-dāna) by the citizens of Śrāvastī is given in the Susima Jātaka<sup>2101</sup> where the question as to whether the gift is to be made to the Tirthikas or the Buddhists was decided by majority vote (saṃvāhula). Such corporate gifts were also made by the citizens of Benares<sup>2102</sup> and Rājagṛha.<sup>2103</sup>

**Rural Economy**—Despite this remarkable growth of towns and the development of town-life the economy of India in this period, as in other periods, was mainly rural, based on a system of village-communities. Like the Jātakas the Dharmasūtras also depict the life of the country as mainly rural. Cities are not ignored but despised. Āpastamba<sup>2104</sup> says "Let him avoid going into towns." Baudhāyana<sup>2105</sup> goes further and says "It is impossible for one to obtain salvation who lives in a town covered with dust." Moreover, the Sūtras do not prescribe any ceremony for urban life though there are many for agricultural life in the villages. The constant injunctions to sacrifice at a place where the four roads meet or near a hill etc., therefore, imply life in the villages rather than life in the towns.<sup>2106</sup>

(a) *Origin and classification of villages*: From the evidences at our disposal we are able to distinguish three main types of villages in this period: (1) the ordinary agricultural village or mixed type (2) the special and suburban village or industrial type and (3) the border village or frontier type. The first type consisted of those villages which were occupied by men of all castes and occupations and some of which were destined, in course of time, to grow into towns. The special and suburban type was occupied solely by particular communities, and some of them specialised in a particular branch of industry. We thus read of villages inhabited solely by hunters,<sup>2107</sup> Chāṇḍāla villages,<sup>2108</sup>

<sup>2101</sup> No. 163.

<sup>2102</sup> Durdada Jātaka (No. 180).

<sup>2103</sup> Kāśyapa Jātaka (No. 221).

<sup>2104</sup> I. 32. 21.

<sup>2105</sup> II. 3. 6, 33.

<sup>2106</sup> Govila Gṛhyasūtras, III. 5. 32—35.

<sup>2107</sup> Mayura (No. 159); Rohantamga (No. 501); Khullahamṣa (No. 533).

<sup>2108</sup> Chittasambhūta (No. 495); Āmra (No. 474); Mātanga (No. 497).

Brahmin villages,<sup>2109</sup> a village of 500 robbers,<sup>2110</sup> a village of carpenters<sup>2111</sup> and a village of 100 families of smiths.<sup>2112</sup> The rise of these industrial villages in the suburban areas was partly due to the policy of segregation adopted by the higher castes or the king with regard to the people of the lower castes who were thus not allowed to live within the walls of the city. We find a Chāṇḍāla village lying just outside the city of Ujjain.<sup>2113</sup> Chāṇḍāla villages outside the city are also referred to in Āmra<sup>2114</sup> and Mātanga<sup>2115</sup> Jātakas. A niṣāda village outside Benares is referred to in Rohantamṛga<sup>2116</sup> and Śyāma<sup>2117</sup> Jātakas. A niṣāda village near Śākula is mentioned in Khullahaṃsa Jātaka.<sup>2118</sup> The village containing 500 families of carpenters mentioned in the Alinachitta Jātaka<sup>2119</sup> was situated near Benares. According to the Uvāsagadasao<sup>2120</sup> there were 500 potter-shops outside the town of Polāsapura. Apparently these formed a suburban village of potters. Indeed the very nature of these industrial villages made it essential that they should be near a town which alone can afford to give their inhabitants a good market for their labour or for the products of their labour. The third or border type of villages are frequently<sup>2121</sup> referred to in the Jātakas. Thus the Śākuna and Kharamvara<sup>2122</sup> Jātakas refer to border villages in Kośala while the Maśaka<sup>2123</sup> and the Mahāśvāroha<sup>2124</sup> Jātakas refer to border villages in Kāśī. The Mahāvamsa also refers to such frontier villages founded by king Siṃhavāhu of the Vanga country over which he placed a son of the princess's uncle, commander in the army of the Vanga king.<sup>2125</sup>

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<sup>2109</sup> Suvarṇakakkata Jātaka (No. 389); Kurndharma (No. 276).	<sup>2119</sup> No. 156.
<sup>2110</sup> Śaktigulma Jātaka (No. 503).	<sup>2120</sup> VII. 181, 184.
<sup>2111</sup> Alinachitta Jātaka (No. 156); Phandana (No. 475).	<sup>2121</sup> No. 36.
<sup>2112</sup> Sūchi Jātaka (No. 387).	<sup>2122</sup> No. 79.
<sup>2113</sup> Chittasambbūta (No. 498).	<sup>2123</sup> No. 44,
<sup>2114</sup> No. 474.	<sup>2124</sup> No. 302.
<sup>2115</sup> No. 497.	<sup>2125</sup> "Nivāsetvāna sākham te pachchanta- gāmaṃ āgamaṃ. Tathāsi rāja-dhī tāya mātulaṃ sato tadā. Senā- pati Vangarañño thito pachchanta- sādhane nisinno vaṭṭamule so kam- mantam saṃvidhāpayam—Maha- vamsa, Ch. VI. 15-16.
<sup>2116</sup> No. 501.	
<sup>2117</sup> No. 540.	
<sup>2118</sup> No. 533.	

It seems that villages were sometimes founded for military purposes. In the Mahāunmārga Jātaka<sup>2126</sup> we find that the king, previous to his starting on a military expedition gave orders to his minister to build villages on the line of march. The minister, after accomplishing his task and completing the arrangements informed the king : "Great king, wait not a moment on the road, but advance immediately. I have already built villages for you at intervals of seven yojanas, establishing halting places, and filled the hundreds of villages that are on the way with cloths and ornaments, food and drink. I have kept elephants, horses and vehicles ready for you in those villages." These villages, were evidently utilised, subsequently to expedition, as resting places for caravans.

(b) *Corporate village-life*—Over each village was the gāma-bhojaka who was paid according to the Kulāyaka Jātaka<sup>2127</sup> a tax on wine levied on each tub of wine (hence called chāṭi-kahāpaṇa) and fines. According to Professor Rhys Davids<sup>2128</sup> from the fact that the appointment of this officer is not claimed by the king until the later law-books it is almost certain that in earlier times the appointment was either hereditary or was conferred by the village council itself. The villages of the industrial type appears to have had an Alderman (Jeṭṭaka) as the head. Thus, for instance, the Sūchī Jātaka<sup>2129</sup> tells us that there was a Jeṭṭaka at the head of the village of 1000 blacksmiths. The headman appears also to have been sometimes appointed by the king as the Kharamvara Jātaka<sup>2130</sup> shows. Though we hear of the misconduct of some of the headmen as in the Kharamvara<sup>2130</sup> and Gṛhapati Jātakas<sup>2131</sup> the villagers were not altogether powerless. From the Pāṇiya Jātaka<sup>2132</sup> we find that the headman who prohibited the slaughter of animals and the sale of wine in the village had ultimately to rescind his orders on account of the protest of the villagers. Even when the headman was a nominee of the king the villagers

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<sup>2126</sup> No. 546.

<sup>2127</sup> No. 31.

<sup>2128</sup> Buddhist India, p. 48.

<sup>2129</sup> No. 387.

<sup>2130</sup> No. 79.

<sup>2131</sup> No. 199.

<sup>2132</sup> No. 459.

had a voice in the management of their affairs.<sup>2133</sup> In fact they met to confer with the gāṃabhojaka and carried the upshot of their counsels into effect. The Mahāśvāroha Jātaka<sup>2134</sup> tells us that the thirty villagers of a border village met together to transact the business of the place. The Kulāyaka Jātaka<sup>2135</sup> tells us that the members of the thirty-five families of a village met in the middle of the village to transact the affairs of the village.<sup>2136</sup> We are further told that they went about the village with axes and clubs. With the clubs, they would roll out of the way stones that lay on the four highways and other roads of the village. The trees that would strike against the axle of chariots, they cut down; rough places they smoothed down; cause-ways they built; dug water tanks and built a hall but they wanted to put a pinnacle on it. They found it in the possession of a lady from whom they could not buy for want of money. But the lady gave it to them when they agreed to make her a partner in their work. The Lośaka<sup>2137</sup> and Takka<sup>2138</sup> Jātakas give us the story of the establishment of a village-school and the construction of a hut for the teacher at the instance of the villagers. In the Grāhapati Jātaka<sup>2139</sup> we are told that the villagers contracted a loan (of an old ox) from the gāṃabhojaka. In the Mahāunmārga Jātaka<sup>2140</sup> a kṛdāsālā, a pānthaśālā and a vicārasālā were constructed by raising public subscriptions from the villagers.<sup>2141</sup> Such co-operative undertakings by villagers are confirmed by the later evidence of Kautilya's Arthśāstra.

<sup>2133</sup> Being thus placed between two masters the headman's lot was not an enviable one as is apparent from the Viśa Jātaka (No. 488) where among the misfortunes or rather curses that might befall a man is mentioned village headmanship.

<sup>2134</sup> No. 302 :—"Ta pāto va gāṃamajjhe sannipatitvā gāmakiccham karonti."

<sup>2135</sup> No. 31 : "gāṃamajjhe thatvā gāmakammaṃ karonti."

<sup>2136</sup> In case of division of opinion the decision of the majority prevailed [Sunil

(No 163) and Kāṣāya (No. 221) Jātakas].

<sup>2137</sup> No. 41.

<sup>2138</sup> No. 63.

<sup>2139</sup> No. 199.

<sup>2140</sup> No. 546.

<sup>2141</sup> On occasions of royal hunt the villagers were sometimes put to forced labour and therefore the villagers would in a body sometimes beat the forest and collect the game in an enclosed place where the king could hunt [Nyagrodha-mṛga (No. 12) and Nandika-mṛga (No. 385) Jātakas].



The corporate character of villages is equally evident as much from the fact that the village elders administered justice in petty cases as from the fact that fines were sometimes imposed on the village as a corporate whole.<sup>2142</sup>

**Land System**—The village arrangements remained practically the same as at the end of the previous period. In the centre was the inhabited portion containing the homestead of the villagers. Around this inhabited portion was the arable ground (khetta) the limits of which might be extended by fresh clearing of forest land.<sup>2143</sup> The majority of the holdings were were probably small, though estates of 1000 karīṣas<sup>2144</sup> also occur in the Jātakas<sup>2145</sup> and in the Vinaya.<sup>2146</sup> According to Baudhāyana an ideal economic holding seems to have been a portion of land measuring six nivartanas which should be kept free from taxes on the ground that this much is necessary to support a family. Nivartana was used in the sense of vṛtti or allowance or livelihood; so an area of land sufficient to support one man from its produce was called nivartana. Around the village lay its grazing pastures of herds of cattle. In the earlier periods the pasture does not appear to have been organised in any particular way. In the Jātakas, however, we come across an indirect reference to an enclosed pasture. In the Dhūmkāri Jātaka,<sup>2147</sup> for instance, we read: 'A Brahmin goatherd took a flock of goats and making a pen in the forest, kept them there.' According to Gautama<sup>2148</sup> unenclosed land was used by all for grazing cattle, obtaining firewood, gathering flowers and getting fruits.

(a) *Was there state-landlordism?*—We have seen that in the previous periods while the king had absolute right of disposal of his own lands, he had, if any at all, at that remote age, very limited rights over the land of his subjects or clansmen. The Jātakas also very clearly distinguish private land from royal domain. Thus we were told in the Śālikedāra Jātaka:<sup>2149</sup> 'Once upon a time, a king named Magadha reigned

<sup>2142</sup> Vasiṣṭha's Dharmasūtra, III. 4.

<sup>2143</sup> Kāma Jātaka (No. 466).

<sup>2144</sup> Karīṣa = 4 amnāpa = 8 acres.

<sup>2145</sup> Suvarṇakakkata (No. 389); Sālikedāra [No. 484.]

<sup>2146</sup> I. 287; II. 186.

<sup>2147</sup> No. 413.

<sup>2148</sup> XII. 28.

<sup>2149</sup> No. 484.

in Rājagṛha. At that time there stood a Brahmin village named Sālindiya, towards the north-east as you go out of the city. In this north-eastern district was property (cultivable fields) belonging to Magadha (Magadhakhettam) A Brahmin named Kosiyagotta belonging to this village appears to have taken lease of one thousand kariṣaṣ out of that royal domain and sowed paddy in it.<sup>2150</sup> The Jayaddiṣa Jātaka<sup>2151</sup> shows us one of the ways in which royal domain increased by way of colonisation. The Kurudharma Jātaka<sup>2152</sup> draws a distinction between the land of the king (rañño santakam) and the land of the ordinary land-holders (kutumbassa santakam). The Dharmasūtras also distinguish royal domain from private land. Thus says Vaśiṣṭha<sup>2153</sup> "A pledge, a boundary and the property of minors, an open deposit, a sealed deposit, women, the property of a king and the wealth of a śrotriya are not lost by being enjoyed by others."

(b) *Private ownership of land*—As to vāstu and the arable land private ownership was fully established. Gautama<sup>2154</sup> recognises this private property in land when he says "Animals, land and females are not lost by possession of another." The Jātakas abound in references to the kutimvaka or kutamvika. They seem to be private landowners.<sup>2155</sup>

As regards the mode of acquisition of property the Gautama Dharma-sūtra<sup>2156</sup> lays down that 'a man becomes owner by inheritance, purchase, partition, seizure or finding.' Acceptance is an additional mode of acquisition for a brahmin, conquest for a kṣatriya and gain by labour for a vaiśya or sūdra. It is true that many of these ways of acquiring wealth

<sup>2150</sup> Rājagṛhe Magadharāja nāma rajjam kāreti. Tadā nagarato puvvat-tarāya disāya sālindiyo nāma brāhmaṇa-gāmo ahosi. Tassa puvvattara disāya magadhakhettam. Tattha Kosiyagotta nāma sālindiyavāsi brāhmaṇo saḥassa kārisamattam khettam gahetvā sālīm v apāpesi—Śālikedāra Jātaka (No. 434).

<sup>2151</sup> No. 513.

<sup>2152</sup> No. 276.

<sup>2153</sup> XVI. 18 (=S. B. E., Vol. XIV. p. 81).

<sup>2154</sup> XII. 39 (=S. B. E., Vol. II. p. 243).

<sup>2155</sup> Śatapatra Jātaka (No. 279); Matsyadāna (No. 288); Sujāta (No. 352) etc. See Childers—Pāli Dictionary and Rhys Davids—Pāli Dictionary.

<sup>2156</sup> X. 39—42. Cf. Vaśiṣṭha, XVI. 16 S. B. E., Vol. II. 231 and Vol. XIV. 81.)

relate to moveable property, but it is also clear that immovable property like land may be acquired by inheritance and succession, which involve acquisition by partition and acceptance of dowry; by purchase, which implies commerce; by conquest and occupation or valour; and by acceptance of gifts in return for instructing a pupil. Land thus acquired might, at least in the kingdom of Magadha, be given away and in that of Kośala be sold. In the former case a Brahmin landowner (Kosiyagotta by name) offers 1000 kariṣas of land as a gift to the Buddha who, however, accepted only eight kariṣas;<sup>2157</sup> we also hear of the donations of pleasure-gardens to the Buddhist Order by the physician Jivaka at Rājagṛha, by the courtesan Amvāpālī in Vaiśālī and above all by the merchant Anāthapiṇḍada at Śrāvastī.<sup>2158</sup> As regards the sale of land we are told in the Chullavagga<sup>2159</sup> that the merchant Anāthapiṇḍada entangles an unwilling noble (prince Jeta) in the sale of a park. And in the law books we read that land might be let against a certain share of the produce.<sup>2160</sup>

In proving property, documents, witnesses and possession are admitted as proof of title by Vaśiṣṭha<sup>2161</sup> and if the documents conflict, the statements made by old men, by guilds and corporations are to be relied upon.<sup>2162</sup> Vaśiṣṭha gives some good provisions on the right of way and evidence in disputes regarding immovable property.<sup>2163</sup> Gautama<sup>2164</sup> and Vaśiṣṭha<sup>2165</sup> give the law of acquiring property by usage. The following eight things used by another for ten years continuously, are lost to the owner: ancestral property, a purchased article, a pledged property given to a wife by her husband's family, a gift property received for performing a sacrifice, the property of reunited co-partners and wages. A pledge, a boundary, property of minors, an open deposit, a sealed deposit, female slaves, the property of a king and the wealth of a śrotriya are not lost by

<sup>2157</sup> Śālikedāra Jātaka (No. 484).

<sup>2158</sup> For references see N. Dutt's Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools, pp. 100, 143—44, 153, 161.

<sup>2159</sup> VI. 4. 9. (—S. B. E., XX. p. 187); Kern—Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 28.

<sup>2160</sup> Āpastamva, II. 11, 28 (1); I. 6, 18 (20.)

<sup>2161</sup> XVI. 19.

<sup>2162</sup> Vaśiṣṭha, XVI. 15.

<sup>2163</sup> XVI. 10—15.

<sup>2164</sup> XII 27—39.

<sup>2165</sup> XVII. 16—18.

being enjoyed by others. Animals, land and females are not lost by possession of another. According to *Vaśiṣṭha*<sup>2166</sup> property entirely given up by its owner goes to the king who is enjoined to administer the property of widows and minors.

(c) *Law of Inheritance*--From the very modes of acquisition it follows that the land under private owners could pass from generation to generation under the customary rules of inheritance and succession. The rules of inheritance supplied by the *Sūtras* make *sapiṇḍas* the heirs after or in default of sons. The *sapiṇḍa* here is one within six degrees and is a male only. The widow is excluded and the daughter according to *Āpastamva*, inherits only in default of sons, teacher or pupil.<sup>2167</sup> The nuptial presents and ornaments of a wife were inherited by the daughters.<sup>2168</sup> Probably the general rule anticipates not the death of the owner but a division of property among the sons during his lifetime. The king inherits in default of the others named and some say that among the sons only the eldest inherits. These rules are sufficiently vague but local laws are also provided for in the additional rules: "In some countries gold or black cattle or black produce of the earth (grain or iron ?) is the share of the eldest."<sup>2169</sup> Then in regard to what the wife receives, the *Sūtra* leaves it doubtful whether the rule "the share of the wife consists of her ornaments and wealth received from her relations according to some (authorities)" is to be interpreted in such a manner that 'according to some' refers only to the last clause or to the whole. "What is obvious" says Mrs. Rhys Davids<sup>2170</sup> "is that the whole matter of inheritance was not yet regulated by any general state-law. Different districts of India have different laws of inheritance. *Baudhāyana* treats the subject of inheritance first under the head of impurity where he says that *sapiṇḍas* inherit in default of nearer relations and *sakulyas* (remoter relations) in default of *sapiṇḍas*; but afterwards he adds that the eldest son in accordance with the quotations cited by *Āpastamva* may receive the best chattel or the father may divide equally between the

<sup>2166</sup> XIV. 8—9.

<sup>2167</sup> II. 6. 14. 4.

<sup>2168</sup> *Baudhāyana*, II. 2. 3. 4; *Vaśiṣṭha*, XVII. 46.

<sup>2169</sup> *Āpastamva*, II. 14. 7.

<sup>2170</sup> in *Rapson's Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I.

sons. Here also the fact that the same subject is treated in different sections shows that as yet the matter of civil law was not treated systematically but incidentally." Nevertheless we can partially reconstruct the law of inheritance as it prevailed in those days. According to Baudhāyana, of the fourteen kinds of sons, aurasa (legitimate), putrikāputra (son of an appointed daughter), kṣetraja (bastard) datta (adopted), kṛtrima (made) gūḍhaja (secretly born) and the apaviddha (abandoned by the parents) were entitled to inheritance. The next six, kāmīna (son of an unmarried daughter), punarbhava (son of a remarried female), swayaṇdatta (self-given son) and niṣāda (son of a twice-born father in a śūdra mother) were regarded as members of the family. The last Parāśara was not even regarded as a member of the family. Gautama names twelve kinds of sons of whom aurasa, the kṣetraja, datta, kṛtrima, gūḍhaja and apaviddha can inherit while kāmīna, sahoda (son of a pregnant bride), punarbhava, putrikāputra, swayamḍatta and kṛta (purchased) cannot inherit though they are maintained as members of the family. Vasiṣṭha regards aurasa, kṣetraja, putrikāputra, punarbhava, kāmīna and gūḍhaja as heirs while sahoda, datta, kṛta, swayamḍatta, apaviddha and niṣāda cannot inherit except when there are no legitimate heirs of the first six classes above mentioned.<sup>2171</sup> Āpastamba who flourished a few centuries later recognised the aurasa sons alone as the legitimate heir, for, the recognition of other sons as heirs could not be allowed among sinful men of his age.<sup>2172</sup> Yet the ancient customs did not die out soon.

Gautama, the earliest law-giver of this age seems to have favoured partition of an estate, for, "in partition there is an increase of spiritual merit."<sup>2173</sup> According to him, the eldest son should get, as an additional share, a twentieth part of the estate, some animals and a carriage, the middlemost son shall get sheep, grain, utensils, a house, a cart and some animals and then the remaining property is equally divided. Or, Gautama would allow the eldest son two shares and the remaining sons one share each. Or, they may take one kind of property by choice according to seniority; or the special shares may be adjusted according to their mothers.<sup>2174</sup> Vasiṣṭha

<sup>2171</sup> XVII.

<sup>2172</sup> II. 6. 13 ; II. 10. 27.

<sup>2173</sup> XXVIII. 4.

<sup>2174</sup> XXVIII. 5-17.

allows the eldest son to have a double share and a little kine and horses; the middle-most gets utensils and furniture, the youngest takes the goats, sheep and house.<sup>2175</sup> Baudhāyana allows all the children to take equal shares or the eldest son to take one-third in excess.<sup>2176</sup>

The property of unreunited brothers, dying without issue goes to the eldest brother; the property of a reunited co-parcener goes to the co-parcener; what a learned co-parcener has acquired by his own labour may be withheld from his unlearned co-parceners and unlearned co-parceners should divide their acquisitions equally.<sup>2177</sup>

A brahmin's son by a kṣatriya wife, if the eldest, shares equally with a younger brother by a brahmin wife. The sons of a kṣatriya by a vaiśya wife share equally. The son by a śūdra wife, if virtuous, is maintained, while even the son of a wife of equal caste does not inherit, if he be living unrighteously.<sup>2178</sup> According to Baudhāyana<sup>2179</sup> the sons of wives of different castes will take four, three, two and one shares according to the order of castes. According to Vasiṣṭha<sup>2180</sup> if a brahmin has sons by brahmin, kṣatriya and vaiśya wife, the first gets three shares, the second two and the third one share. Āpastamva, however, protests against such unequal division of property and declares that all the virtuous sons should inherit but he who spends money unrighteously shall be disinherited, though he be the eldest son.<sup>2181</sup>

Ordinarily the heirs should pay the debts of a deceased person. But the money due to the parents of a bride, immoral debts and fine shall not devolve upon the sons of a debtor.<sup>2182</sup>

(d) *Land revenue* : (i) *the amount of the royal share*—The Jātakas make it clear that in the monarchies the king had a right to a portion of the produce of the soil. In the Kurudharma Jātaka<sup>2183</sup> a person having

<sup>2175</sup> XVIII. 42 f.

<sup>2176</sup> II. 2. 3. 2 f.

<sup>2177</sup> Gautama, XXVIII. 27. 31.

<sup>2178</sup> Ibid., XXVIII. 35—40.

<sup>2179</sup> II. 2. 3. 2—10.

<sup>2180</sup> XVIII. 42—50.

<sup>2181</sup> II. 6. 14. 1—15.

<sup>2182</sup> Gautama, XII. 40—41.

<sup>2183</sup> No. 276 : Imamhā kedārā mayā  
rañño bhāgo databbo, adinnabhā-  
gato yeva cha me kedārato śālisī-  
samutṭhi gāhāpita.

carelessly plucked a handful of corn from his own field regrets : "From this field I have yet to give the king his due, and I have taken a handful of corn from an untithed field." The exact share of the king is not known. Baudhāyana<sup>2184</sup> prescribes one-sixth of the income of the subjects as the pay of the king. According to Vasiṣṭha<sup>2185</sup> the the royal share is a sixth part of the wealth of the subjects. According to Gautama<sup>2186</sup> cultivators must pay to the king a tax amounting to one-tenth, one-eighth or one-sixth of the produce. This difference in the royal share was due probably to the differences in the nature of the soil. A great deal also depended on the whim of the king, for, he seems to have exercised the right of increasing the taxes at will<sup>2187</sup> or of remitting them.<sup>2188</sup> Again according to Vasiṣṭha<sup>2189</sup> no taxes are to be paid on the usufruct of river, dry grass, forest, (places of) combustion and mountains.

(ii) *Land survey*—For the purpose of an accurate realisation of revenue land surveys were also made. In the Kāma Jātaka<sup>2190</sup> we find the royal officers taking a survey of the fields. In the Kurudharma Jātaka<sup>2191</sup> we read that one day the Rajjugāhakamachcha (literally the rope-holding minister) was measuring a field by tying a rope to a stick and giving one end of the rope to the owner of the field to hold, while himself keeping the stick into his own hand. The rope-holding minister (or surveyor) happened to put the stick in a crab's hole with the crab inside, whereupon he thought : 'If I put the stick into the hole, the crab in the hole will be hurt ; if I put it on the other side the king's property will lose ; and if I put it on this side, the farmer will lose.'

(iii) *Land revenue administration*—The local officials who carried on the civil, judicial and military administration appear also to have carried on the work of collecting the revenue. The Central Government, however,

<sup>2184</sup> I. 18 1 (= S. B. E., Vol. XIV. p. 199)

<sup>2185</sup> I. 42 (= S. B. E., Vol. XIV. p. 8)

<sup>2186</sup> X. 24. 27 (= S. B. E. Vol. II. pp. 229—30).

<sup>2187</sup> Gagga Jātaka (No. 155); Mahāsutasoma Jātaka (No. 302).

<sup>2188</sup> Kāma Jātaka (No. 467).

<sup>2189</sup> XIX. 26 (= S. B. E), Vol. XIV. p. 99.

<sup>2190</sup> No. 467 : Rājakammikā khattappa-mānā-gahanatthāya tam gāmam agamimsu.

<sup>2191</sup> No. 276.

maintained a body of officials who co-operated with the local bodies in this respect. In the Jātaka period Northern India was divided into sixteen independent states (ṣoḷaśamahājanapadāni).<sup>2192</sup> Some of these states were organised into provinces under viceroys and the province into districts (janapada) and villages. Thus the Kama Jātaka<sup>2193</sup> tells us that a prince, having at first no desire to rule his kingdom, left it but later on became greedy and won over a village. Then he wanted to have the janapada and the viceroyalty (uparājjam) as well. The Mahāswapna Jātaka<sup>2194</sup> also refers to kingdom (raṭṭa), district (janapada) and village (gāma) in successive order. From the Kharamvara Jātaka<sup>2195</sup> we find that the revenue specially from the distant border villages was collected by an amachcha. According to Āpastamba<sup>2196</sup> the king should appoint men of the first three castes who are pure and truthful over villages and towns.....(and) shall make them collect the lawful taxes. The royal share known as vali was collected generally in kind. The produce of the field was taken to the public granary for the excision of the royal tithe before being taken to the barns of the respective owners. Such public granaries were in charge of officers who are aptly called Droṇa-māpaka mahāmatto. In the Kurudharma Jātaka<sup>2197</sup> we are told that sitting at the door of the granary he caused to be measured the king's share of the produce. The tax was collected by officials called Valisādhaka and Rājakkammika.<sup>2198</sup> Though the vali was usually paid in kind, cash payment was not altogether unknown. Thus the Vardhaki-sūkara Jātaka<sup>2199</sup> records the gift of the sata-sahassutthāyikam Kāsigāmaṃ [a village of Kāśī yielding 100,000 (kahāpaṇas) as revenue]. The Avārya Jātaka<sup>2200</sup> also refers to a village yielding the same amount.

**Agriculture**—Most of the arable land was cultivated by peasant-proprietors (khetṭapati, vatthupati) and cultivation of lands by peasants

<sup>2192</sup> Rhys Davids—Buddhist India, p. 23.

<sup>2193</sup> No. 467.

<sup>2194</sup> No. 77.

<sup>2195</sup> No. 79.

<sup>2196</sup> II. 26. 4. 9 (= S. B. E., Vol. II. pp. 163—64).

<sup>2197</sup> No. 276 : Koṭṭhāgāradvāro nisīditvā rājabhāge vāhim mināpentō.

<sup>2198</sup> Kāma Jātaka (No. 467); Gandatindū Jātaka (No. 520).

<sup>2199</sup> No. 283.

<sup>2200</sup> No. 376.



for princes was regarded as a mark of social decay.<sup>2201</sup> From the Mahāvagga<sup>2202</sup> we learn that Buddhist saṃghas sometimes cultivated lands belonging to private persons and used to get half of the produce as their share or sometimes let out their own lands in lieu of half of the produce. "Of the seedlings belonging to the Saṃgha, grown upon private ground, half the produce, O Bhikkhus, you may have, when you have given a part to the private owner. Of seedlings belonging to private persons grown up on the ground, the property of the Saṃgha, you may have the use, when you have given a part to the owner."

(a) *Agricultural operations*: In the Suttanipāṭa we have the story of Kāśi Bharadvāja where we find mention of the plough (nangala), the oxen-team, the yoke (yuga) and the goad (pācana). The Śākuna Jātaka<sup>2203</sup> describes the successive stages of agriculture. In it we are told that when a Buddhist monk asked the villagers to build a house for him the latter agreed to do so after the rains have come and watered their fields; when the rains came and watered their fields they agreed to build the house for the monk after sowing the seeds; when seeds were sown they agreed to do the monk's work after enclosing their fields; when their fields were fenced, they agreed to do the monk's work after clearing up the weeds in their fields; when the weeds were cleared up they agreed to do the monk's work after reaping the harvest; when the harvest was reaped, they agreed to do the monk's work after the corn had been threshed on the threshing floor; in this way the work of building a house for the monk was indefinitely put off. In the Chullavagga<sup>2204</sup> Mahānāma the Śākyan thus describes the farming operations: "First you have to get your fields ploughed. When that is done, you have to get the water let down over them. When that is done, you have to get the water let off again. When that is done, you have to get the weeds pulled up. When that is done, you have to get crops reaped. When that is done, you have to get the crops carried away. When that is done, you have to get it arranged in bundles. When that is done, you have to get it trodden out.

<sup>2201</sup> Jātaka I. 339.

<sup>2203</sup> No. 36.

<sup>2202</sup> VI. 39, i (= S. B. E., Vol. XVII.  
p. 143)

<sup>2204</sup> VII. 1, 2.

When that is done you have to get the straw picked out. When that is done, you have to get all the chaff removed. When that is done, you have to get it winnowed. When that is done, you have to get the harvest garnered. When that is done, you have to do just the same the next year and the same all over again the year after". The *Uraga Jātaka* (No. 354) refers to the custom of maid-servants bringing food to the cultivators working in the field.

(b) *Protection of the crops* : In the Rigvedic period the cultivators kept away birds from the corn fields by making din and noise.<sup>2205</sup> But in this period as the *Śālikedāra Jātaka*<sup>2206</sup> shows, nets made of the hair of horse's tail were used for catching birds that used to eat up the crops. The *Mahāvagga* (I. 50) even refers to the use of scare-crows. In the *Lakṣaṇa Jātaka*<sup>2207</sup> we find that to kill the deer which used to eat up the harvest, the cultivators used to dig up pits, place snares, fix stakes and *pāsāṇa-yanta* (stone-made instruments to catch beasts).

(c) *Ceremonies connected with agriculture* :—For success in agriculture the *Gṛhyasūtras* prescribe a number of ceremonies. Thus there is a rite for ploughing when sacrifice is made to *aśani* (thunderbolt) and to *Sītā* (furrow) as well as to *Aradā*, *Anghā*, *Parjanya*, *Indra* and *Bhaga* with similar offerings on the occasion of the threshing floor sacrifice, when one reaps the harvest or sows the seeds, all portraying the life of the agriculturist who also offers a sacrifice at mole-heaps to *Akhurāja*, the king of moles.<sup>2208</sup>

(d) *Rainfall* :—The North-western part of the country seems to have enjoyed sufficient rainfall. *Aristobulus*<sup>2209</sup> recorded that rains began when the European army reached Taxila in the spring of 326 B. C. and became continuous with the prevalence of the monsoon, all the time they were marching eastward along the foothills of the Himalayas. When the Greeks looked round upon the features of the country India seemed, before anything

<sup>2205</sup> Rig Veda, X. 68. 1

<sup>2206</sup> No. 484.

<sup>2207</sup> No. 11.

<sup>2208</sup> Govila *Gṛhyasūtra*, IV. 4. 28f ;  
Ibid., 30f.

<sup>2209</sup> Fragment 29 — Strabo XV. C. 691 ;  
cf. C. 697.

else to be the land of rivers.<sup>2210</sup> Megasthenes mentions 58 rivers of which thirty-five names are preserved and are still recognisable to-day.<sup>2211</sup>

(e) *Irrigation* :—Despite this natural supply of water various methods of irrigation were also known. From the Dharmapada<sup>2212</sup> it appears that the boundaries of each house-holder's plot of arable land were made by channels dug for co-operative irrigation. These dividing ditches, rectangular and curvilinear, were likened to a patch-work robe, prescribed by the Buddha as a pattern for the uniform of his order.<sup>2213</sup> The Kāma Jātaka<sup>2214</sup> speaks of a brahmin making little embanked squares for water. We also hear of the rivers being dammed for the purpose of irrigation. We thus read in the Kunāla Jātaka : <sup>2215</sup> "The Śākya and the Koliyans had the river Rohinī which flows between the cities of Kapilavastu and Kolia, confined by a single dam and by means of it cultivated their crops. In the month of Jeṭṭamula when crops began to flag and droop, the labourers from both the cities assembled together. Then the Koliyans said 'Should this water be drawn off on both sides it will not prove sufficient for both us and you. But our crops will thrive with a single watering, give us then the water.'"

(f) *Cultivated plants* :—The Gṛhyasūtras prove that there were two harvests a year and that the people long realised the advantages of a rotation crops in that a season of barley was succeeded by one of rice.<sup>2216</sup> As to the cultivated plants we find the names of (1) vṛhi (rice)<sup>2217</sup> (2) gandha-

<sup>2210</sup> Strabo XV. C. 689.

<sup>2211</sup> Fragment 18—Arrian—Indica, 4;  
Pliny—Natural History, VI. Art.  
64f.

<sup>2212</sup> Dhṛp., verse 80—145—Therag. 19.

<sup>2213</sup> Vinaya Texts, II. 207—09; Mah.,  
VIII. 12; cf. Psalms of the  
Brethren, p. 152.

<sup>2214</sup> No. 466.

<sup>2215</sup> No. 536.

<sup>2216</sup> Vṛhiprabhṛtya ā yavebhyo yave-

bhyo vā vṛhibhya swayam haret  
svayam haret—Khadira Gṛhya-  
sūtra, I. 5. 37 (—S. B. E., Vol.  
XXIX. p. 388); also Govila Gṛhya-  
sūtra, I. 4. 29.

<sup>2217</sup> Mahāsvapna Jātaka (No. 77);  
Sudhābhojana (No. 535); Aśvalā-  
yana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 11. 2; I. 9. 6;  
I. 17. 12; Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra,  
I. 17. 7; I. 22. 5; I. 24. 3; I. 28. 6;  
III. 1. 3.

śāli<sup>2218</sup> (3) chinaka<sup>2219</sup> (4) taṇḍulā<sup>2220</sup> (5) śyāmaka<sup>2221</sup> (6) yava<sup>2222</sup> (7) godhuma<sup>2223</sup> (8) mudga<sup>2224</sup> (9) māsa<sup>2225</sup> and (10) sugarcane.<sup>2226</sup>

The Jātakas<sup>2227</sup> refer to the paṇḍikas who used to earn their living by growing green vegetables on their fields. Among the green vegetables we find the mention of (1) gourd (alāvu)<sup>2228</sup> (2) pumpkin (kuṣmāṇḍa,<sup>2229</sup> vali-va)<sup>2230</sup> (3) cucumber<sup>2231</sup> (4) ervārūka (a kind of cucumber)<sup>2232</sup> (5) yag-dummura (a kind of fig)<sup>2233</sup> (6) garlic<sup>2234</sup> (7) radish (mūlā)<sup>2235</sup> (8) a kind of sweet potatoes (mūluvi)<sup>2236</sup> and (9) pot-herbs or esculent vegetables (śāka).<sup>2237</sup> The Viśwantara Jātaka<sup>2238</sup> refers to karoti (= rājamāsa = Bengali varbati) and to kalamvi. The leaves of a shrub (gulma) called kāra<sup>2239</sup> and of Indravaruṇī tree<sup>2240</sup> were taken by the people after boiling them. Among different varieties of kanda (bulbous or tuberous

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| <sup>2218</sup> = Scented rice (Keśava Jātaka No. 346).  | alāvu and kuṣmāṇḍa. In Sanskrit it means a kind of beans.  |
| <sup>2219</sup> = Sanskrit vrīhibheda (Sudhābhojana Jātaka No. 535).   | <sup>2227</sup> Kuddāla Jātaka (No. 70); Paṇḍika Jātaka (No. 102).   |
| <sup>2220</sup> Nikkūṇḍuka thusā swayanjāta taṇḍulasāni = rice that comes from the plant, having no husk etc. (Sudhābhojana Jātaka No. 535).                     | <sup>2228</sup> Kuddāla (No. 70); Mahāswapna (No. 77); Paṇḍika (No. 102); ṣaḍadanta (No. 514); Soumanasya (No. 505). |
| <sup>2221</sup> The seeds of a kind of grass called śyāmā which were eaten by the poor (Sudhābhojana Jātaka No. 535).  | <sup>2229</sup> Kuddāla Jātaka (No. 70); Paṇḍika (No. 102); Soumanasya (No. 505); ṣaḍadanta (No. 514).               |
| <sup>2222</sup> Mahāswapna Jātaka (No. 77); Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 11. 2; I. 9. 6; I. 17. 2; Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 24. 3; I. 28. 6; III. 1. 3; IV. 4. 9. | <sup>2230</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).   |
| <sup>2223</sup> Mahāswapna Jātaka (No. 77).  | <sup>2231</sup> Kuddāla Jātaka (No. 70).   |
| <sup>2224</sup> Mahāswapna Jātaka (No. 77); Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra I. 22. 5; Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I. 15. 4.   | <sup>2232</sup> = Pāli Elāluka (ṣaḍadanta No. 514).  |
| <sup>2225</sup> Mahāswapna Jātaka (No. 77).  | <sup>2233</sup> Uḍamvara Jātaka (No. 298).   |
| <sup>2226</sup> Ibid. The word hareṇukā occurs in the Sudhābhojana Jātaka (No. 77). In Pāli it is the collective name for mndga, māṣa, tila,                     | <sup>2234</sup> Viśwantara (No. 547); Suvarṇa-haṇṣa (No. 136).   |
|  | <sup>2235</sup> Pañchāyudha Jātaka (No. 55).   |
|  | <sup>2236</sup> Sudhābhojana (No. 535); Kunāla (No. 536); Viśwantara (No. 547).                                      |
|  | <sup>2237</sup> Kuddāla Jātaka (No. 70); Paṇḍika (No. 102).  |
|  | <sup>2238</sup> No. 547.   |
|  | <sup>2239</sup> Akīrti Jātaka (No. 480).   |
|  | <sup>2240</sup> Ibid.; Kṛṣṇa Jātaka (No. 440).   |

roots) the Takkala<sup>2241</sup> and Viśwantara Jātakas<sup>2242</sup> mention (1) takkala (2) ālupa (3) virālikā and (4) kalamva which according to the commentator are (1) pindālu (2) ālukanda (3) virālavalli kanda and (4) tālakanda respectively.

Of oil-bearing plants sesamum<sup>2243</sup> and mustard<sup>2244</sup> are frequently mentioned. Among spices the Jātakas refer to (1) ādraka (ginger)<sup>2245</sup> (2) jiraka (cumin-seed)<sup>2246</sup> (3) marica<sup>2247</sup> and (4) pippali (pepper).<sup>2248</sup>

Of colour-bearing plants indigo<sup>2249</sup> was the most important.

As to fibrous plants karpāsa is mentioned for the first time in the Āśvālāyana Śrautasūtra.<sup>2250</sup> Herodotus also speaks of the cotton plant as yielding vegetable wool "surpassing in beauty and quality the wool of sheep and the Indians wear clothing from these trees."<sup>2251</sup> From the Mahāvagga we learn that śimula or cotton silk mentioned in the Jātakas<sup>2252</sup> was used in the preparation of quilts (tulika) stuffed with cotton-wool. Śana (Crotalaria Junica) is mentioned in the Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra<sup>2253</sup> and in the sūtras of Pāṇini. Linen flax (Linum Usitatissimum) was also known.<sup>2254</sup> Makaci, a kind of fibre with which strainers were made is mentioned in the Vālodaka Jātaka.<sup>2255</sup>

**Forests and their economic importance**—The forests continued as in the earlier periods to serve the purpose of natural pastures. "The

<sup>2241</sup> No. 446.

<sup>2242</sup> No. 547.

<sup>2243</sup> Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 9. 6; I. 17.2; II. 4. 4; IV. 4.13; IV. 7. 11; Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, II. 2. 26; I. 3. 18; IV. 1. 16; Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I. 15. 4; II. 6. 17; Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 28. 6; III. 1. 3; IV. 1. 3; IV. 3. 4.

<sup>2244</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547); Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I. 17. 23; Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, III. 1. 3.

<sup>2245</sup> Kapota Jātaka (No. 42); Godhā Jātaka (No. 325).

<sup>2246</sup> Kapota Jātaka (No. 42); Romaka (No. 277); Godhā (No. 325).

<sup>2247</sup> Romaka (No. 277); Godhā (No. 325).

<sup>2248</sup> Godhā Jātaka (No. 325).

<sup>2249</sup> Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 23. 1; compare Nīli of Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).

<sup>2250</sup> V. 4. 17.

<sup>2251</sup> McCrindle's Ancient India, III. 106.

<sup>2252</sup> Khullanārada Jātaka (No. 477).

<sup>2253</sup> I. 24. 11.

<sup>2254</sup> Chullaśreṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 4).

<sup>2255</sup> No. 183.

Bodhisattva had a herdsman who when the corn was growing thick, drove his cows to the forest and kept them there at a shieling.<sup>2256</sup> Secondly, they supplied the people with wild rice<sup>2257</sup> and esculent vegetables.<sup>2258</sup> In the third place, the forests were a perennial source of supply of fuel and timber.<sup>2259</sup> In the fourth place, the forests supplied the people with aloe (aguru),<sup>2260</sup> bdellium (guggulu),<sup>2261</sup> spikenard (naladī),<sup>2262</sup> camphor (karpūra),<sup>2263</sup> liquorice (yaṣṭimadhu),<sup>2264</sup> costus (kuṣṭha),<sup>2265</sup> lac (lākṣā),<sup>2266</sup> tail of a yak,<sup>2267</sup> ivory<sup>2268</sup> and sandalwood.<sup>2269</sup> Sandalwood-powder used by ladies as a toilette for the breasts,<sup>2270</sup> essence of sandalwood (candanāsāra)<sup>2271</sup> and sandalwood oil<sup>2272</sup> were highly prized. In the fifth place, the forest-tracts served as habitations for certain classes of people. According to the Pañcha-upsattha Jātaka<sup>2273</sup> people who had curbed their worldly desires inhabited these regions. The Sūtras<sup>2274</sup> also describe different classes of hermits living in these forests. The forests were also the habitations of the Aṭaviyas who appeared to have been fully acquainted with the forest-paths and used to hire themselves out as guides to cara-

<sup>2256</sup> Viśwāsabhañjana Jātaka (No. 93); Sandhibheda Jātaka (No. 349).

<sup>2257</sup> Vālāhāśva (No. 196); Palāśa (No. 368); Viśwantara (No. 547). In the Viśwantara Jātaka wild rice of two different kinds is mentioned (1) Swayaṃ Sātikā = Pāli Samsādiyā. According to commentator it is otherwise known as Sukaraśālī (2) Prasātikā = Pāli Pasādiyā.

<sup>2258</sup> Parpika Jātaka (No. 102).

<sup>2259</sup> Alinacitta Jātaka (No. 156).

<sup>2260</sup> Bhallātika (No. 504); Khandahāla (No. 542); Viśwantara (No. 547).

<sup>2261</sup> Mātāṅga Jātaka (No. 497); Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).

<sup>2262</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).

<sup>2263</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547); Andhabhūta Jātaka (No. 62).

<sup>2264</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).

<sup>2265</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2266</sup> Nyagrodhamṛga Jātaka (No. 12); Kṣhāntivādi (No. 313); Suvarṇamṛga (No. 359); Vidurapaṇḍita (No. 545).

<sup>2267</sup> Nyagrodhamṛga Jātaka (No. 12).

<sup>2268</sup> Kāśāya Jātaka (No. 221).

<sup>2269</sup> Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536); Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).

<sup>2270</sup> Kuśa Jātaka (No. 537).

<sup>2271</sup> Kurudharma Jātaka (No. 276).

<sup>2272</sup> Kuśa Jātaka (No. 537).

<sup>2273</sup> No. 490.

<sup>2274</sup> Āpastamva, II.9. 13 (= S. B. E., Vol. II. p. 123.; Bandhāyana, III. 3 (= S. B. E., Vol. XIV. p. 291 ff.; Gautama, III. 2 (= S. B. E., Vol. II. p. 192).

vans.<sup>2275</sup> Lastly, some of the forest-tracts were extremely valuable for their supply of elephants. The earliest reference to elephant-forests (mātaṅgāraṇya) is probably in the Mahāvagga.<sup>2276</sup> The Majjhima Nikāya also refers to elephant-preserves (nāgavana).<sup>2277</sup>

The various useful trees known to the people of this period are :—(1) Tirīti<sup>2278</sup> = Tirita of Amara (2) Śallakī.<sup>2279</sup> According to the commentator it is Indrasāla tree (= Boswellia Thurifera). From its extract (niryyāsa) a scent called lavān or kundurā was prepared (3) Karpūra (camphor)<sup>2280</sup> (4) Khadira<sup>2281</sup> from which we get catechu (5) Bhanga<sup>2282</sup> from which a narcotic (hemp) is obtained (6) Aśvakarna<sup>2283</sup> (7) Aśvattha<sup>2284</sup> (8) Palāśa<sup>2285</sup> (9) Tvaksāra (bamboo)<sup>2286</sup> (10) Kūṭaja<sup>2287</sup> (11) Visa<sup>2288</sup> (12) Śimula (silk-cotton tree)<sup>2289</sup> (13) Śāla<sup>2290</sup> (14) Tilaka<sup>2291</sup> (15) Soubhañjana (= Sajinā)<sup>2292</sup> (16) Varuṇa<sup>2293</sup> (17) Vūrjja (Birch)<sup>2294</sup> (18) Vediśa<sup>2295</sup> (19) Veṇu<sup>2296</sup> (20) Muchakunda<sup>2297</sup> (21) Picu-

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| 2275 | Kṣhurapra Jātaka (No. 265); Jayaddvisa (No. 513).  | 2288 | Mātripoṣaka Jātaka (No. 455).  |
| 2276 | X. 3. 1.   | 2289 | Khullanārada Jātaka (No. 477).   |
| 2277 | See Epigraphica Indica, Vol. II. p. 265).  | 2290 | Bhallātika (No. 504); Chāmpaya (No. 506); Nalinikā (No. 526); Sudhābhojana (No. 535); Kunāla (No. 536); Viśwantara (No. 547).  |
| 2278 | Kunāla Jātaka (No. 535).   | 2291 | Nalinikā (No. 526); Sudhābhojana (No. 535); Kunāla (No. 536); Vidurapandita (No. 545).   |
| 2279 | Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547); Mātripoṣaka Jātaka (No. 455).                                 | 2292 | Sudhābhojana (No. 535); cf. Akṣiva = Sajinā in Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547); Śovāñjana = Sajinā in Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547). |
| 2280 | Andhabhūti Jātaka (No. 62); Viśwantara (No. 547).  | 2293 | Sudhābhojana (No. 535); Karerī = Varuṇa in Viśwantara (No. 547).   |
| 2281 | Kapdagalaka Jātaka (No. 210); Viśwantara (No. 547).  | 2294 | Sudhābhojana (No. 535); Kunāla (No. 536); Nalinikā (No. 526).  |
| 2282 | Sudhābhojana Jātaka (No. 535).   | 2295 | Sudhābhojana Jātaka (No. 535).   |
| 2283 | Kakkara Jātaka (No. 209); Viśwantara (No. 547).  | 2296 | Ibid.  |
| 2284 | Samkalpa Jātaka (No. 210); Palāśa (No. 305); Sudhābhojana (No. 535); Viśwantara (No. 547). | 2297 | Sudhābhojana Jātaka (No. 535); Vidurapandita (No. 545); Muchilinda = Muchakunda in Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).                    |
| 2285 | Palāśa Jātaka (No. 305); Palāśa (No. 368); Viśwantara (No. 547).                           |      |  |
| 2286 | Tvaksāra Jātaka (No. 368).   |      |  |
| 2287 | Mātripoṣaka Jātaka (No. 455); Kunāla (No. 536); Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).               |      |  |

manda (= Neem)<sup>2298</sup> (22) Kuravaka<sup>2299</sup> (23) Chetasa<sup>2300</sup> (24) Ba-  
juda<sup>2301</sup> (= sanskrit Vañjula) (25) Punnāga<sup>2302</sup> (26) Priyaka<sup>2303</sup> (= Piya-  
śāla) (27) Āsana<sup>2304</sup> (28) Sarala<sup>2305</sup> (Pine) (29) Kārāgula (= Kālā-  
guru)<sup>2306</sup> (30) Padmaka<sup>2307</sup> (31) Devadāru<sup>2308</sup> (32) Kakudha (=   
Kakubha = Arjuna)<sup>2309</sup> (33) Kachchikāra<sup>2310</sup> (34) Tūṇa (= Toon)<sup>2311</sup>  
(35) Kaṇavera (= Karavira)<sup>2312</sup> (36) Karandaka<sup>2313</sup> (37) Kovidāra<sup>2314</sup>  
(38) Anangana<sup>2315</sup> (39) Anavajja<sup>2316</sup> (40) Suruchira<sup>2317</sup> (41) Bhaginī<sup>2318</sup>  
(42) Dhanukārika<sup>2319</sup> (43) Tālisa (= Tāli = Paniyalā)<sup>2320</sup> (44) Kōṭṭa<sup>2321</sup>  
(45) Saptaparnī<sup>2322</sup> (46) Uparibhadra<sup>2323</sup> (47) Karajña (= Karañjaka = Dal-  
bergea Arborea)<sup>2324</sup> (48) Dhava.<sup>2325</sup> It is called Dhao tree in Orissa and in  
the Santhal Pargannas (49) Dhātri<sup>2326</sup> (50) Vallika<sup>2327</sup> (51) Putrañjiva<sup>2328</sup>  
(52) Kosamva<sup>2329</sup> (53) Somavrkṣa<sup>2330</sup> (54) Pañgura<sup>2331</sup> (55) Mahā-

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| 2298 | Pāli Puchimanda (Pichumanda Jātaka (No. 310).  | 2314 | Viśwantara (No. 547); Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).   |
| 2299 | Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536); Sveta-<br>puṣpā Jhinti = Kuravaka while<br>pītapuṣpā Jhinti = Kurupṭaka.  | 2315 | Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).   |
| 2300 | Ibid.  | 2316 | Ibid.  |
| 2301 | Ibid.  | 2317 | Ibid.  |
| 2302 | Ibid.; Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  | 2318 | Ibid.; cf. Bhaginīmāla in Vidura-<br>pandita Jātaka (No. 545).                             |
| 2303 | Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536); Asana-<br>Piyāśāla in Viśwantara (No. 547);<br>cf. Ajurkarṇa = Piyāśāla in Viśwan-<br>tara (No. 547). Piyāśāla = Pentap-<br>tera tomentosa. | 2319 | Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536). According<br>to the commentator it is the same<br>as Dhanupātali. |
| 2304 | Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).   | 2320 | Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536); Viśwan-<br>tara Jātaka (No. 547).                                 |
| 2305 | Ibid.; Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  | 2321 | Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).   |
| 2306 | Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).   | 2322 | Vidurapandita Jātaka (No. 545);<br>Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).                            |
| 2307 | Ibid.; Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  | 2323 | Vidurapandita Jātaka (No. 545).<br>Uparibhadra = Bhadraka = either<br>Devādaru or Kadamba. |
| 2308 | Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).   | 2324 | Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).   |
| 2309 | Ibid.; Viśwantara (No. 547); cf.<br>Kakuda in Viśwantara (No. 547).  | 2325 | Spandana Jātaka (No. 475);<br>Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).                                 |
| 2310 | Ibid.  | 2326 | Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).   |
| 2311 | Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).   | 2327 | Ibid. Vallika = Vallātaka (?).   |
| 2312 | Ibid.  | 2328 | Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).   |
| 2313 | Viśwantara (No. 547). It may be<br>Kurupṭaka of Amara; cf. Korāṇḍa<br>of Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).  | 2329 | Ibid.  |
|      |  | 2330 | Ibid. Somavrkṣa = Soma plant (?).  |



nāma<sup>2332</sup> (56) Śvetaparni<sup>2333</sup> (57) Śvetāguru<sup>2334</sup> (58) Jaṭamāmsi<sup>2335</sup> (59) Nilapuspi<sup>2336</sup> (60) Śvetavāri<sup>2337</sup> (61) Kateruha<sup>2338</sup> (62) Tulasī plant<sup>2339</sup> (63) Asītaru<sup>2340</sup> (64) Katamāla (Viśwantara Jātaka) = Kṛtamāla of Amara = Sonāli (65) Cocha (Kunāla Jātaka). According to Amara it belongs to the 'guratvak' species (66) Phaṇijjaka (Viśwantara Jātaka) = Phaṇijjhaka of Amara. According to Amara it belongs to the 'Jamvira' species and (67) Kakkola from which a gandhadravya was prepared.

Among the flower plants and trees the following are mentioned in the literature of this period :—(1) Kusumbha (safflower)<sup>2341</sup> (2) Karṇikāra = Uddālaka = Sonāli = *Casia fistula* <sup>2342</sup> (3) Kaṇṭakuraṇḍa <sup>2343</sup> (4) Kimśūka <sup>2344</sup> (5) Kadamva <sup>2345</sup> (6) Aṅkola = <sup>2346</sup> Aṅkolaka = Aṅkolla = Aṅkolā = Aṅkoṭha (?) of Amara. According to the author of *Flora Indica* it is Bengali Ākārakaṇṭha. (7) Sattali (Pali) = Sans. Saptali = Bengali Navamālikā <sup>2347</sup> (8) Mādhavi <sup>2348</sup> (9) Yūthikā <sup>2349</sup> (10) Lodhra <sup>2350</sup> (11) Sthalapadma (plant)<sup>2351</sup> (12) Ketaki<sup>2352</sup> (13) Vakula<sup>2353</sup> (14) Cham-

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| 2331 | Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).   | (No. 547). The Viśwantara Jātaka   |
| 2332 | Ibid.  | (No. 547) refers to a plant called   |
| 2333 | Ibid.  | Kimśukalatikā.   |
| 2334 | Ibid.  | 2345 Mahotkrośa (No. 486); Nīpa =  |
| 2335 | Ibid.  | Kadamva in Kimchhando (No. 511)  |
| 2336 | Ibid.  | and Viśwantara (No. 547).  |
| 2337 | Ibid.  | 2346 Vallāṭika Jātaka (No. 504); Kunāla  |
| 2338 | Ibid.  | (No. 536); Viśwantara (No. 547).   |
| 2339 | Ibid.  | 2347 Vallāṭika Jātaka (No. 504)  |
| 2340 | Ibid. The commentator adds the<br>gloss: <i>Siniddhāya bhūmiyaṃ<br/>thitā tālāviya rukkhā.</i>   | 2348 Vallāṭika Jātaka (No. 504); Atimuk-<br>taka = Atimukta = Mādhavīlatā in<br>Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).       |
| 2341 | Puṣpabhakta Jātaka (No. 147).  | 2349 Vallāṭika Jātaka (No. 504); Yodhi<br>= Yodhikā = Yūthikā in Kunāla<br>(No. 536) and Viśwantara (No. 547). |
| 2342 | Dardara (No. 172); Bhallāṭika (No.<br>504); Chāmpēya (No. 506); Nali-<br>nikā (No. 526); Sudhābhojana<br>(No. 535); Kunāla (536); Khapda-<br>hāla (No. 542); Vidurapandita<br>(No. 545); Viśwantara (No. 547). | 2350 Sudhābhojana Jātaka (No. 535).  |
| 2343 | Dardara (No. 172); cf. Karapdaka<br>in Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  | 2351 Ibid.; Viśwantara (No. 547).  |
| 2344 | Kimśukopama Jātaka (No. 246);<br>Kunāla (No. 536); Viśwantara  | 2352 Sudhābhojana (No. 535); Kunāla<br>(No. 536); Vidurapandita (No.<br>545); Viśwantara (No. 547).            |
|      |  | 2353 Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536); Viśwan-<br>tara Jātaka (No. 547).  |

paka<sup>2354</sup> (15) Aśoka<sup>2355</sup> (16) Nāgakeśara<sup>2356</sup> (17) Vanamallikā<sup>2357</sup> (18) Tagara<sup>2358</sup> (19) Nāgamālikā<sup>2359</sup> (20) Nāgavallī<sup>2360</sup> (21) Madhuka<sup>2361</sup> (22) Nyagrodha<sup>2362</sup> (23) Kuravaka<sup>2363</sup> (24) Patalī<sup>2364</sup> (25) Sindhuvāra = Niṣindā<sup>2365</sup> (26) Bhaṇḍī = Bhaṇḍila = Śirīṣa or Ghentū flower<sup>2366</sup> (27) Jāti<sup>2367</sup> (28) Sumana<sup>2368</sup> = Davala Yūthikā or Mallikā (29) Madhugandhika<sup>2369</sup> (30) Śwetachchha<sup>2370</sup> (31) Raktamāla = Naktamāla<sup>2371</sup> (32) Śiṃśapā<sup>2372</sup> (33) Asphotaka<sup>2373</sup> (34) Sūryyavallī<sup>2374</sup> (35) Anoja<sup>2375</sup> (36) Vāsanti<sup>2376</sup> (37) Kimpśukalatikā<sup>2377</sup> (38) Padmottara<sup>2378</sup> and (39) Elāmvarā<sup>2379</sup> a plant of the drākṣā species the scent of whose flowers last for a week.<sup>2380</sup>

Among the fruit trees of this period the following are the most important :—(1) Mango<sup>2381</sup> (2) Dhruvaphalo Amvo (mango tree which yeilded

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| <sup>2354</sup> Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536); Vidurapandita Jātaka (No. 545).   | <sup>545</sup> . Compare Nirṅaṇḍī = Niṣindā in Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).   |
| <sup>2355</sup> Kunāla (No. 536); Khaṇḍabāla (No. 542); Viśwantara (No. 547).  | <sup>2366</sup> Kunāla (No. 536); Viśwantara (No. 547); Śirīṣa is mentioned in Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).   |
| <sup>2356</sup> Viśwantara (No. 547); cf. Nāgarukha (Pāli) = Nāgavṛkṣa - Nāgakeśara (?) in Kunāla (No. 536).                                     | <sup>2367</sup> Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536); Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).   |
| <sup>2357</sup> Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).   | <sup>2368</sup> Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).  |
| <sup>2358</sup> Ibid.; Viśwantara (No. 547).   | <sup>2369</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  |
| <sup>2359</sup> Vidurapandita (No. 545). In the Drāviḍa land a kind of Yūthikā flower is called Nāgamalli.                                       | <sup>2370</sup> Ibid.   |
| <sup>2360</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).   | <sup>2371</sup> Ibid.   |
| <sup>2361</sup> This tree yields Mahuā flower. Mahāsvapna (No. 77); Saṃkalpa (No. 251); Śaktigulma (No. 503); Sudhābhojana (No. 535).            | <sup>2372</sup> Ibid.   |
| <sup>2362</sup> Saṃkalpa Jātaka (No. 251); Sudhābhojana (No. 535).   | <sup>2373</sup> Ibid. Is it Āsphotā of Amara? Āsphotā is another name of Aparājītā.   |
| <sup>2363</sup> Vallāṭika Jātaka (No. 504).  | <sup>2374</sup> Ibid.   |
| <sup>2364</sup> Vallāṭika (No. 504); Chāmpēya (No. 506); Nalinikā (No. 526); Sudhābhojana (No. 535); Khaṇḍabāla (No. 542); Viśwantara (No. 547). | <sup>2375</sup> Ibid.   |
| <sup>2365</sup> Vallāṭika (No. 504); Sudhābhojana (No. 535); Vidurapandita (No. 545).  | <sup>2376</sup> Ibid.   |
|  | <sup>2377</sup> Ibid.   |
|  | <sup>2378</sup> Ibid.   |
|  | <sup>2379</sup> Ibid.   |
|  | <sup>2380</sup> Ibid.   |
|  | <sup>2381</sup> Daśabrāhmaṇa Jātaka (No. 495); Chāmpēya (No. 506); Nalinikā (No. 526); Khaṇḍabāla (No. 542); Vidurapandita (No. 545); Viśwantara (No. 547). |

mangoes throughout the year)<sup>2382</sup> (3) Jamvu (black-berry tree)<sup>2383</sup> (4) Vilva<sup>2384</sup> (5) Vadari<sup>2385</sup> (6) Kapittha<sup>2386</sup> (7) Kharjjura<sup>2387</sup> (8) Tāla<sup>2388</sup> (9) Cocanut<sup>2389</sup> (10) Haritaki<sup>2390</sup> (11) Āmalaki<sup>2391</sup> (12) Vibhitaka (Vahedā)<sup>2392</sup> (13) Tinduka (Gāva or Ebony)<sup>2393</sup> (14) Uḍamvara<sup>2394</sup> (15) Kuruvinda = Mūthā or Vādāma (Terminalia catappa)<sup>2395</sup> (16) Panasa<sup>2396</sup> (17) Piṇḍā<sup>2397</sup> (18) Lakucha<sup>2398</sup> (19) Lavuja<sup>2399</sup> (20) Kāra, a shrub<sup>2400</sup> (21) Kadali (plantain)<sup>2401</sup> (22) Mocha (Pāli).<sup>2402</sup> According to the commentator it is aṣṭikadali (= Bengali Vichekalā) (23) Timvaru<sup>2403</sup> which yields a kind of Gāva fruit (Diospyros glutinosa) (24) Drākṣā (vine)<sup>2404</sup> (25) Saha<sup>2405</sup> (= Sahakāra, according to the commentator). The tree which yields scented mangoes is called Sahakāra (Sahakāraḥ atisourabhah). In Sanskrit, however, Saha means other kinds of trees like Rāsnā.

Among shrubs, plants and trees yielding scents we find (1) Haridrā<sup>2406</sup> (turmeric, curcuma, haldi) (2) Kuṣṭha (costus)<sup>2407</sup> (3) Agurū (aloe)<sup>2408</sup> (4) Narada (= nalada, naladi, spikenard)<sup>2409</sup> (5) Guggulu (bdellium)<sup>2410</sup>

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| 2382 | Śavaka Jātaka (No. 309).  | 2393 | Tinduka Jātaka (No. 177); Palāśa (No. 305); Śaktigulma (No. 503); Sudhābhojana Jātaka (No. 535). |
| 2383 | Daśabrāhmaṇa Jātaka (No. 495). Chāmpēya (No. 506); Nalinikā (No. 526); Sudhābhojana (No. 535); Vidurapaṇḍita (No. 545); Viśwantara (No. 547).           | 2394 | Samkalpa Jātaka (No. 251).   |
| 2384 | Daśabrāhmaṇa Jātaka (No. 495).  | 2395 | Mātṛpoṣaka Jātaka (No. 455).   |
| 2385 | Ibid.; Viśwantara (No. 547).  | 2396 | Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).   |
| 2386 | Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  | 2397 | Daśabrāhmaṇa Jātaka (No. 495); Śaktigulma (No. 503).   |
| 2387 | Ibid. Keka = Koka (?) = Kharjjura in Sudhābhojana Jātaka (No. 535).   | 2398 | Daśabrāhmaṇa Jātaka (No. 495).   |
| 2388 | Vinilaka Jātaka (No. 160); Markaṭa (No. 173); Suvarṇakarkāṭa (No. 389); Viśwantara (No. 547); cf. Vibhedaka = Tāla tree in Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547). | 2399 | Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).   |
| 2389 | Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  | 2400 | Śaktigulma Jātaka (No. 503).   |
| 2390 | Daśabrāhmaṇa Jātaka (No. 495); Viśwantara (No. 547).  | 2401 | śaḍadanta Jātaka (No. 514); Sudhābhojana (No. 535).  |
| 2391 | Daśabrāhmaṇa Jātaka (No. 495).  | 2402 | Sudhābhojana Jātaka (No. 535).   |
| 2392 | Karkara (No. 209); Daśabrāhmaṇa (No. 495); Viśwantara (No. 547).  | 2403 | Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).   |
|      |   | 2404 | Ibid.  |
|      |   | 2405 | Vidurapaṇḍita Jātaka (No. 545).  |
|      |   | 2406 | Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).   |
|      |   | 2407 | Ibid.  |
|      |   | 2408 | Ibid.  |
|      |   | 2409 | Ibid.  |
|      |   | 2410 | Ibid.  |

(6) Yaṣṭimadhu<sup>2411</sup> (liquorice) (7) Sandalwood<sup>2412</sup> (8) Priyaṅga<sup>2413</sup> (9) Gandhaśīla<sup>2414</sup> (10) Bhadramustā<sup>2415</sup> (11) Śatapuspa<sup>2416</sup> (12) Jhāmaka<sup>2417</sup> (13) Tungavṛnta<sup>2418</sup> (14) Hriversa<sup>2419</sup> (15) Choraka<sup>2420</sup> (16) Kalinga<sup>2421</sup> (17) Unnaka<sup>2422</sup> (18) Lolupa<sup>2423</sup> (19) and Karpūra (camphor) already mentioned.

The following varieties of grass and reeds were also known in this period :—(1) Kāśa<sup>2424</sup> (2) Kuśa<sup>2425</sup> (3) Potakila ( Pāli ) = Potagala (Sans).<sup>2426</sup> It is a grass of the Śara species. (4) Pavvaja = Valvaja<sup>2427</sup> (5) Muñja<sup>2428</sup> and (6) Uśira ( = Khaskhas ).<sup>2429</sup>

**Mines**—As to minerals we find mention of (1) iron<sup>2430</sup> (2) copper<sup>2431</sup> (3) lead<sup>2432</sup> (4) tin (ranga)<sup>2433</sup> (5) silver<sup>2434</sup> (6) gold<sup>2435</sup> (7) yellow orpiment (haritīlī)<sup>2436</sup> (8) manahśilā<sup>2437</sup> and (9) hingulaka.<sup>2438</sup> Precious stones like Vaidurya<sup>2439</sup> and diamond<sup>2440</sup> were also known. The production of gold must have been considerable in North-western India, for, according to Herodotus,<sup>2441</sup> the Indian satrapy of Darius paid a tribute exceeding that of every other people, to wit, three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust. The fact of India paying her tribute in gold naturally leads to the question—Where was the source of all this gold? According to Hero-

2411	Ibid.	2427	Ibid.
2412	Kunāla ( No. 526 ); Viśwantara ( No. 547 ).	2428	Ibid.
2413	Viśwantara ( No. 547 ); cf. Piyangu in Kunāla Jātaka ( No. 536 ).	2429	Ibid. ; Kunāla Jātaka ( No. 536 ); Sudhābhajana Jātaka ( 535 ).
2414	Viśwantara Jātaka ( No. 547 ).	2430	Jarudapāna Jātaka ( No. 256 ).
2415	Ibid.	2431	Ibid.
2416	Ibid.	2432	Ibid.
2417	Ibid.	2433	Ibid.
2418	Ibid.	2434	Ibid. ; Kunāla Jātaka ( No. 536 ).
2419	Ibid.	2435	Ibid.
2420	Ibid.	2436	Kunāla Jātaka ( No. 536 ).
2421	Ibid.	2437	Ibid.
2422	Ibid.	2438	Ibid.
2423	Ibid.	2439	Jarudapāna Jātaka ( No. 256 ).
2424	Ibid.	2440	Supāraka Jātaka ( No. 463 ).
2425	Ibid. ; Sudhābhajana ( No. 535 ).	2441	Rawlinson — Herodotus, Vol. II. p. 487.
2426	Viśwantara Jātaka ( No. 547 ).		

dotus "there is abundance of gold in India partly brought down by the rivers and partly seized in the manner I have described."<sup>2442</sup> The last words refer to his famous story of the gold-digging ants which is repeated by subsequent writers like Pliny, Ælian, Chrysostom and even by more trustworthy writers like Megasthenes and Nearchos. The real origin of the theory of ant-gold was first explained by Dr. Wilson who pointed out that the Sanskrit name for small fragments of alluvial gold (gold dust) was paipalaka (= ant-gold) in reference to their resemblance to ants in size and form. The Greeks accepted a too literal meaning of the word and supposed that gold was dug out by ants. When Herodotus says that the ants were of the size of dogs and fiercely attacked anyone carrying off the gold, it has been plausively suggested that the account was derived from people who had been chased by the formidable dogs kept by the native miners.<sup>2443</sup> The further addition of the myth referred to by Pliny who says that "the horns of the gold-digging ants were preserved in the temple of Hercules at Erythral" has been explained by Professor V. Ball, Sir H. Rawlinson and Dr. Schiern. The explanation may be thus given in Professor Ball's words: "The so-called myth was not cleared up till by chance, information was received as to the customs and habits of the Tibetan gold-miners of the present day. The myrmeces of Herodotus and Megasthenes were Tibetan miners and their dogs. The horns mentioned by Pliny were the gold-miner's pick-axes. I have been informed by an eye-witness, Mr. R. Lydekker that the picks in use in Ladak consist of horns of wild sheep mounted on handles."<sup>2444</sup> Megasthenes has added the useful information that the country from which gold came was the country of the Derdae (in Sanskrit Darada or Darād = modern Dardistan in Kashmere).<sup>2445</sup>

It is interesting to note in this connection that from very early times mines appear to have been regarded as state property. According to Gautama all treasure-trove belongs to the king, but an exception in case of the

<sup>2442</sup> McCrindle's Classical Literature, Herodotus.

<sup>2443</sup> McCrindle's Ancient India, p. 44, note 2.

<sup>2444</sup> Prof. V. Ball—A geologist's con-

tribution to the history of Ancient India in the Indian Antiquary, 1884.

<sup>2445</sup> Megasthenes, Fragment 29 — Strabo XV. C. 706.

treasure-trove is made when a preist is the finder and some say that anybody who finds it gets one-sixth.<sup>2446</sup>

**Cattle-rearing, pig-culture and poultry-farming** :—Cattle formed an important item of wealth of the ordinary householder even in this period. Oxen were indispensable for agricultural work and apart from sacrificial use milk formed the principal drink of the people besides being the source of supply for curds, whey, butter and ghee. From the Suttanipāta we learn that a Brahmin cultivator Kāśi Bharadvāja by name had five ploughs and the requisite number of oxen in addition to a large herd of cows. In the Dhaniyasutta a cultivator speaks of his wealth in cattle and is proud of his milch cows. The herds of cattle<sup>2447</sup> and goats<sup>2448</sup> were customarily entrusted to a communal neatherd who would bring them back every evening and count them out to the several owners.<sup>2449</sup>

From the Munika<sup>2450</sup> and Śalūka<sup>2451</sup> Jātakas we find that pigs were domesticated and fattened before being eaten up.

The Vartaka Jātaka<sup>2452</sup> refers to a hunter who earned his livelihood by catching quails, fattening them in his house for some time and then selling them to his customers.

**Hunting and fishing**—A large number of people earned their living by hunting birds and beasts. We read of hunters going to the market with cart-loads of flesh to sell.<sup>2453</sup> For capturing deer people used to dig up pits, place snares, fix up stakes and piṣāṇa-yanta.<sup>2454</sup> After the beaters had done their work deer were hunted either from a māchan on a tree<sup>2455</sup> or from a thatch constructed for the purpose.<sup>2456</sup> We

<sup>2446</sup> Gautamī, X. 25 f.

<sup>2447</sup> Jātaka III. 149.

<sup>2448</sup> Ibid., III. 409.

<sup>2449</sup> A. I. 205 ; M. Dh. comm. I. 157.

<sup>2450</sup> No. 30.

<sup>2451</sup> No. 286.

<sup>2452</sup> No. 118.

<sup>2453</sup> Māṃsa Jātaka (No. 315).

<sup>2454</sup> Lakṣaṇa Jātaka (No. 11.).

<sup>2455</sup> Kurangamiga Jātaka (No. 21)

<sup>2456</sup> Manoja (No. 397). For catching deer net of leather-made straps made bright with lac were used [Nyagrodhamiga (No. 12) and Suvarṇamiga Jātaka (No. 359)].

read of birds<sup>2457</sup> and peacocks<sup>2458</sup> being caught in traps made of wool<sup>2459</sup> or of the hair of horse's tail<sup>2460</sup> with the help of decoy birds.<sup>2461</sup> Lions were hunted from an 'aṭṭaka' (tower or māchan) specially constructed for the purpose.<sup>2462</sup> The method of capturing elephants described in the ṣaḍadanta Jātaka<sup>2463</sup> is substantially the same described by Megasthenes,<sup>2464</sup> the precursor of the modern 'Khedā' system.

Fishing became the main occupation of a section of the population. We read of fish being caught from rivers and tanks in nets<sup>2465</sup> or in a cage-like structure of cane or bamboo-splints called kumina.<sup>2466</sup> Of fish a large variety was known. We find mention of:—(1) Rohita (= Bengali Rui<sup>2467</sup>) (2) Pāgusa (= Sanskrit Vāgusa = Bengali Vāyuṣa i.e., Kālāvāyuṣa)<sup>2468</sup> (3) Pāthina (= Bengali Voyāla)<sup>2469</sup> (4) Śakuḷa (= Bengali Śol)<sup>2470</sup> (5) Sringī (= Bengali śingī)<sup>2471</sup> (6) Vāluḷa (= Bengali Vele ?)<sup>2472</sup> (7) Pāvusa (= Bengali Kālāvāyuṣa ?)<sup>2473</sup> (8) Muñja (= Bengali Miragela ?)<sup>2474</sup> (9) Kākiṇṇa (= Bengali Kānkley ?)<sup>2475</sup> (10) Kṣhuramāla (= a seafish with razor-like nose = sword-fish ?)<sup>2476</sup> (11) Aligargara<sup>2477</sup> (12) Savakra<sup>2478</sup> (13) Kākamatsya<sup>2479</sup> and (14) Śatavakra.<sup>2480</sup> Tortoises<sup>2481</sup> corals<sup>2482</sup> and pearls<sup>2483</sup> are also mentioned.

- <sup>2457</sup> Kakkara Jātaka (No. 209).  
<sup>2458</sup> Mayūra Jātaka (No. 159).  
<sup>2459</sup> Kakkara Jātaka (No. 209).  
<sup>2460</sup> Śālikedāra Jātaka (No. 484).  
<sup>2461</sup> Kakkara (No. 209); Mayūra (No. 159); Tittira (No. 317).  
<sup>2462</sup> Manoja Jātaka (No. 397).  
<sup>2463</sup> No. 514.  
<sup>2464</sup> Frag. 36 = Strabo, XV. 1. 41-43, pp. 704-05; Frag. 37 = Arrian-Indica, XIII—XIV.  
<sup>2465</sup> Matsya Jātaka (No. 34).  
<sup>2466</sup> = Bengali ghoṇā or ghūṇi—Haritamāta (= Haritamanduka) Jātaka No. 239.  
<sup>2467</sup> Chakravāka (No. 451); Sudhābhōjana (No. 535); Vidurapandita (No. 545); Viśwantara (No. 547).  
<sup>2468</sup> Vidurapandita Jātaka (No. 545).

- <sup>2469</sup> Chakravāka Jātaka (No. 451); Sudhābhōjana (No. 535); Vidurapandita (No. 545); Mahāunmārga (No. 546).  
<sup>2470</sup> Sudhābhōjana Jātaka (No. 535).  
<sup>2471</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>2472</sup> Chakravāka Jātaka (No. 451).  
<sup>2473</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>2474</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>2475</sup> Sudhābhōjana Jātaka (No. 535).  
<sup>2476</sup> Supārāga Jātaka (No. 463).  
<sup>2477</sup> Sudhābhōjana Jātaka (No. 535).  
<sup>2478</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>2479</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>2480</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>2481</sup> Mahotkrośa (No. 486); Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I. 14. 5.  
<sup>2482</sup> Supārāga Jātaka (No. 463).  
<sup>2483</sup> Anavirati Jātaka (No. 185); Jarudapāna Jātaka (No. 256).

**Arboriculture** :—It seems that when a cluster of villages was turned into a city, the intervening space between any two villages was trimmed with spacious parks. We find frequent mention of such parks in the Jātakas. In the Jetavana of Śrāvastī we find arbours (mālaka) of Nāga (= Nāgakeśara), Śāla, and other trees specially planted for the purpose.<sup>2484</sup> A gardener (udyānapāla) was appointed to see that the trees are properly watered with the help of buckets made of leather or wood.<sup>2485</sup> The Sāṅkhyāna Gr̥hyasūtra<sup>2486</sup> also lays down rules for the consecration ceremony of a garden.

**Progress in arts and crafts** :—In early times mechanics and craftsmen earned their living by serving the villagers. The Sūtra “Grāmaḥ Śilpini” in Pāṇini<sup>2487</sup> clearly points to such craftsmen attached to the village. Another sūtra mentions such a village carpenter: “Grāmakautābhyām ca takṣaṇa.”<sup>2488</sup> But dependence on the village compelled the craftsmen to subsist on the occasional doles and remunerations granted by the villagers according to their whims. To remedy this state of affairs, they had begun in the previous periods to organise themselves into guilds which gave them protection against oppression and helped them in making their economic condition better. When the growth of towns and town-life coupled with the development of domestic and foreign trade led to a greater demand for their products the craftsmen began to free themselves from the tutelage of the agricultural interest by withdrawing to those places where they had better opportunities of pursuing their own occupations, thus leading to the establishment of suburban industrial villages. This separation of the industrial element of the population is a notable feature of the economic life of this period, for, it is at once the effect and the cause of the remarkable growth of industry.

It is curious that the Greek observers should call the Indians backward in the scientific development of the resources of their country. They had, for instance, good mines of gold and silver, yet “The Indians

<sup>2484</sup> Varuṇa Jātaka (No. 71).

<sup>2487</sup> VI. 2. 62.

<sup>2485</sup> Ārāmadūṣaka Jātaka (No. 46).

<sup>2488</sup> V. 4. 95.

<sup>2486</sup> V. 3. 1-5.



inexperienced in the arts of mining and smelting do not even know their own resources but set about the business in too primitive a way.”<sup>2489</sup> They did not pursue accurate knowledge in any line except Medicine ; in the case of some arts it was even accounted vicious to carry their study far, the art of war, for instance.<sup>2490</sup> But the construction and contents of the Piprawa Stupa belonging to 450 B. C., discovered on the Nepal frontier prove that among Indian craftsmen of 450 B. C. there were skilled masons, accomplished stone-cutters and dainty jewellers. “The masonry of the stupa is excellent of its kind, well and truly laid ; the great sand-stone coffer could not be better made ; and the ornaments of gold, silver, coral, crystal and precious stones which were deposited in honour of the holy relics display a high degree of skill in the arts of the lapidary and goldsmith.” An examination of the crystal bowl and the steatite vases accompanying it shows that they are all turned on the lathe and we thus learn that the Indian lapidaries were familiar with the use of the lathe<sup>2491</sup> in or about 450 B. C.” Equally evident is the skill of the ancient Indian craftsmen in “shaping, polishing and piercing gems of extreme hardness as well as the extensive use of jewellery of an elaborate kind.”

(1) *Metal industry* : In fact, the metal industry was highly specialised. The word ‘kammāra’ mentioned in the earliest Buddhist literature is as comprehensive as our ‘smith.’ We find mention of weapons, tools and implements, household utensils and ornaments of various kinds. The manufacture of arrows is described in the Mahājanaka Jātaka<sup>2492</sup> and Herodotus<sup>2493</sup> describes the Indian army in the service of the Persian King Xerxes as armed with iron-headed arrows. Sword,<sup>2494</sup> adjustable sword,<sup>2495</sup> spear,<sup>2496</sup> armour,<sup>2497</sup> and iron helmet<sup>2498</sup> are also mentioned.

<sup>2489</sup> Strabo XV. C. 700.

<sup>2490</sup> Strabo XV. C. 701.

<sup>2491</sup> Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. II.

<sup>2492</sup> No. 539.

<sup>2493</sup> VII. 65 (= Herodotus translated by Cary. London, 1848. p. 434.

<sup>2494</sup> Bhojājāneya Jātaka (No. 23) : Mahāśīlavaja (No. 51) ; Khapdahāla (No. 542) ; Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 13. 1.

<sup>2495</sup> Asadṛśa Jātaka (No. 181).

<sup>2496</sup> Sūchī Jātaka (No. 387) ; Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, II. 6. 16.

<sup>2497</sup> Bhojājāneya Jātaka (No. 23) ; Sarabhanga (No. 522) ; Mahāunmārga (No. 546) ; Āśwālāyana Gṛhyasūtra III. 12. 1, 3.

<sup>2498</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).

A small sword called illi<sup>2499</sup> and a sword of high quality called sikāya-samayā<sup>2500</sup> were also known. Daśārṇaka was famous for the high quality of her swords.<sup>2501</sup>

Among tools and implements we find (1) paraśu (axe),<sup>2502</sup> (2) vāsī (adze),<sup>2503</sup> (3) vāsīparaśu, a combination of the carpenter's adze and axe,<sup>2504</sup> (4) keen-edged saw (Pāli Krakacha),<sup>2505</sup> (5) bill-hook,<sup>2506</sup> (6) hammer,<sup>2507</sup> (7) fishing hook made of iron,<sup>2508</sup> (8) iron goad (Pāli pāchana = Sans. prājana),<sup>2509</sup> (9) crowbar (tomara, khanitra),<sup>2510</sup> (10) spade,<sup>2511</sup> (11) grass-cutter's knife,<sup>2512</sup> (12) auger (nikhādāna),<sup>2513</sup> and (13) siṅghātaka (an instrument having three pointed corners like a singārā, an aquatic nut)<sup>2514</sup>

Among domestic utensils we find (1) iron vessels,<sup>2515</sup> (2) iron jar (kumbhī),<sup>2516</sup> (3) bucket (Pāli udañchani = Sans. udañchana),<sup>2517</sup> (4) colander, a vessel with many holes (Pāli parisāvana karoti),<sup>2518</sup> (5) fork (sandamśa)<sup>2519</sup> and (6) iron rods used in roasting meat.<sup>2520</sup> Razor made of metal,<sup>2521</sup> fine needles with case,<sup>2522</sup> key (Pāli avāpuraṇa =

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2499	Ścṇa (No. 529); Mahājanaka (No. 539).	2509	Sūchi Jātaka (No. 387).
2500	Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).	2510	Durvalakāṣṭha Jātaka (No. 105); ṣaḍadanta (No. 514).
2501	Daśārṇaka Jātaka (No. 401).	2511	Vaṇṇupatha (No. 2); Nanda (No. 39); Mṛdula-kṣaṇa (No. 66); Kuddāla (No. 70); ṣaḍadanta (No. 514).
2502	Tailapātra Jātaka (No. 96); Dadhi- vāhana (No. 186); Sūchi (No. 387); Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I. 16. 18; III. 15. 21; Āśwālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 15. 3; Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 28. 14.	2512	Viśahya Jātaka (No. 340); ṣaḍa- danta (No. 514).
2503	Sūchi Jātaka (No. 387); ṣaḍadanta Jātaka (No. 514).	2513	ṣaḍadanta Jātaka (No. 514).
2504	Dadhivāhana Jātaka (No. 186).	2514	Ibid.
2505	Śīlavannāga Jātaka (No. 72); Asitābhū (No. 234); Kṛṣṇadvai- pāyana (No. 444).	2515	Udaya Jātaka (No. 458).
2506	Vaka Jātaka (No. 38).	2516	Louhakumvī Jātaka (No. 314).
2507	Vaṇṇupatha (No. 2); Mahāpingala (No. 240); ṣaḍadanta (No. 514).	2517	Udañchani Jātaka (No. 106).
2508	Sūchi Jātaka (No. 387).	2518	Kapota Jātaka (No. 42).
		2519	Karkāṭa Jātaka (No. 267).
		2520	Śaśa Jātaka (No. 316).
		2521	Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, II. 3. 27.
		2522	Sūchi Jātaka (No. 387).

Sans. avāvaraṇa)<sup>2523</sup> and seal (lāñchchhana-mudrā)<sup>2524</sup> are also mentioned. Iron nets<sup>2525</sup> iron fetters<sup>2526</sup> (andu) and iron chains for prisoners<sup>2527</sup> were also in use.

Copper implements<sup>2528</sup> are frequently mentioned. Copper razor<sup>2529</sup> and copper vessels<sup>2530</sup> including tāṭa used in religious worship being the most important.

Among silver wares we find (1) silver vessels<sup>2531</sup> (2) silver pot for milching cows<sup>2532</sup> (3) hare made of silver<sup>2533</sup> and (4) silver boxes for keeping ornaments.<sup>2534</sup>

Of alloys kaṃsa (bell-metal) is mentioned in Pāṇini.<sup>2535</sup> The Jātakas refer to (1) bell-metal vessels<sup>2536</sup> including (2) kāmśya sthālī<sup>2537</sup>; and kānsara, (a plate of bell-metal struck with a stick serving the purpose of a bell).<sup>2538</sup> Among articles made of brass (pittala) we find (1) brazen vessels,<sup>2539</sup> (2) bowls<sup>2540</sup> and (3) hare made of brass.<sup>2541</sup>

The goldsmith is frequently mentioned and among articles of gold we find (1) gold vessels<sup>2542</sup> (2) gold pitcher<sup>2543</sup> (3) gold sthālī<sup>2544</sup> (4) gold drinking pot<sup>2545</sup> (5) gold vase (bhṛṅgara)<sup>2546</sup> (6) gold plate

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| <sup>2523</sup> Śīgāla Jātaka (No. 148).  | <sup>2537</sup> Khulladhanurgraha Jātaka (No. 374); Sūchī Jātaka (No. 387).  |
| <sup>2524</sup> Kalingavodhi Jātaka (No. 479).  | <sup>2538</sup> Lośaka Jātaka (No. 41).  |
| <sup>2525</sup> Abhyantara Jātaka (No. 281);<br>Bhadraśāla Jātaka (No. 464).  | <sup>2539</sup> Khadirāṅgāra Jātaka (No. 40);<br>Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, II. 5. 33;<br>III. 4. 18; III. 4. 20; III. 4. 23;<br>III. 5. 12; Pāraskara, III. 4. 9.                                |
| <sup>2526</sup> Vandhanāgāra Jātaka (No. 291).  | <sup>2540</sup> Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, I. 5. 11.  |
| <sup>2527</sup> Ibid.   | <sup>2541</sup> Ghaṭa Jātaka (No. 454).  |
| <sup>2528</sup> Āśwālāyana Gṛhyasutra, IV. 3. 19;   | <sup>2542</sup> Kāka (No. 140); Dyūta (No. 240);<br>Udaya (No. 458); Mātanga<br>(No. 497); Mahāśwāroha (No. 302);<br>Āśwālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 15. 1.<br>Sāñkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 24. 3. |
| <sup>2529</sup> Sāñkhyāyana Gṛhyasutra, I. 28. 7;<br>I. 28. 14; Pāraskara Gṛhyasutra,<br>II. 1. 11, 19, 21; Āśwālāyana<br>Gṛhyasutra, I. 17. 9, 10, 16. | <sup>2543</sup> Mātanga Jātaka (No. 497).  |
| <sup>2530</sup> Kouśeyī Jātaka (No. 130).   | <sup>2544</sup> Kuṇḍaka-Kukṣi-saindhava (No. 254).   |
| <sup>2531</sup> Udaya Jātaka (No. 458).   | <sup>2545</sup> Mahāśilavaja Jātaka (No. 51).  |
| <sup>2532</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  | <sup>2546</sup> Ibid.; Mahāśwāroha (No. 302).  |
| <sup>2533</sup> Ghaṭa Jātaka (No. 454).   |  |
| <sup>2534</sup> Vātamiga Jātaka (No. 14).   |  |
| <sup>2535</sup> IV. 3. 168; IV. 5. 183.   |  |
| <sup>2536</sup> Mahāśvapna Jātaka (No. 77).   |  |

(suvanna tattaka)<sup>2547</sup> (7) gold plate worth one lac pieces<sup>2548</sup> (8) golden basket (changotaka)<sup>2549</sup> (9) gold spoon<sup>2550</sup> (10) an instrument of gold used in giving honey and clarified butter to the new-born child in the Medhājanana (production of intelligence) ceremony<sup>2551</sup> (11) a small pair of pincers made of gold<sup>2552</sup> (12) golden stick<sup>2553</sup> (13) golden dice-board<sup>2554</sup> (14) golden dice<sup>2555</sup> (15) golden sandals<sup>2556</sup> (16) golden trappings for horses<sup>2557</sup> (17) golden cage<sup>2558</sup> (18) golden cup for a bird<sup>2559</sup> (19) golden bedstead<sup>2560</sup> (20) golden seat (Pāli kochchha)<sup>2561</sup> (21) golden image of a girl<sup>2562</sup> (22) hare made of gold<sup>2563</sup> (23) elephant made of gold<sup>2564</sup> and (24) gold box for keeping scents.<sup>2565</sup>

The jeweller (maṇikāra)<sup>2566</sup> and ornaments<sup>2567</sup> specially those made of gold<sup>2568</sup> are frequently mentioned. Among the ornaments of this period we find (1) kirita, tiara for the head.<sup>2569</sup> A seth's daughter Viśākhā by name obtained from her father as part of her marriage-dowry a peacock-shaped tiara for her head. It was so nicely set up with pearls and gems of different colours that it looked as a real peacock and used to emit a cackling noise with the movement of wind ; (2) mukhaphulla.<sup>2570</sup> According to the commentator it is "nalātante tilakamālābharaṇam"

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| <sup>2547</sup> Sujāta Jātaka (No. 304).   | <sup>2550</sup> Dyūta Jātaka (No. 260).  |
| <sup>2548</sup> Serivaṇṇij Jātaka (No. 3) ; Bhojājāneya (No. 23) ; Mahāsvapna (No. 77) ; Asadrśa (No. 181) ; Kāmanita (No. 225) ; Manoja (No. 397) ; Tūṣa (No. 338). | <sup>2551</sup> Mahāhamśa Jātaka (No. 534).  |
| <sup>2549</sup> Ruru Jātaka (No. 482).   | <sup>2552</sup> Ananusōchanīya Jātaka (No. 328) ; Kuśa (No. 531).  |
| <sup>2550</sup> Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 15. 1 ; Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 24. 3.  | <sup>2553</sup> Ghaṭa Jātaka (No. 454).  |
| <sup>2551</sup> Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I. 5. 4.   | <sup>2554</sup> Mūkapanga Jātaka (No. 538).  |
| <sup>2552</sup> Makhādeva Jātaka (No. 9).  | <sup>2555</sup> Mahāśīlavaj Jātaka (No. 51).   |
| <sup>2553</sup> Mātanga Jātaka (No. 497).  | <sup>2556</sup> Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536) ; Vidurapadita (No. 545).  |
| <sup>2554</sup> Andhabhūta Jātaka (No. 62).  | <sup>2557</sup> Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 6. 1, 2 ; I. 8. 10 ; Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I. 8. 9 ; Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, II. 4. 7 ; II. 5. 9 ; III. 1. 24. |
| <sup>2555</sup> Ibid.  | <sup>2558</sup> Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, II. 5. 33 ; Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 22. 17 ; III. 1. 7.   |
| <sup>2556</sup> Manoja (No. 397) ; Mātanga (No. 497).  | <sup>2559</sup> Kimchhanda Jātaka (No. 511).   |
| <sup>2557</sup> Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka (No. 542).   | <sup>2570</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).   |
| <sup>2558</sup> Satyamkila (No. 73) ; Kālavāhu (No. 329) ; Bāveru (No. 339).   |  |
| <sup>2559</sup> Kālavāhu Jātaka (No. 329).   |  |

(something like our *sinthi*); (3) *kuṇḍala*, earring; <sup>2571</sup> (4) earring set with stones; <sup>2572</sup> (5) earring set with jewels; <sup>2573</sup> (6) necklace; <sup>2574</sup> (7) necklace of *niṣka* coins; <sup>2575</sup> (8) golden necklace worth 1000 pieces; <sup>2576</sup> (9) *ratnadāma*, a necklace of gems; <sup>2577</sup> (10) *ratnamaya graiveya*, an ornament for the neck set with jewels; <sup>2578</sup> (11) *kṣhauma*. <sup>2579</sup> According to the commentator it is an ornament for the neck; (12) wreath of gold; <sup>2580</sup> (13) *unnata*, nose-ring (?); <sup>2581</sup> (14) ring for the finger of the hand; <sup>2582</sup> (15) *keyūra*, <sup>2583</sup> bracelet on the upper arm; (16) *angada*, <sup>2584</sup> bracelet on the upper arm; (17) golden comb; <sup>2585</sup> (18) *valaya*, <sup>2586</sup> bracelet on the lower arm; (19) golden bangles set with pearls and precious stones; <sup>2587</sup> (20) *mekhalā*, <sup>2588</sup> an ornament for the loins; (21) *gingamaka*, <sup>2589</sup> an ornament for the waist; (22) *pālīpāda*, <sup>2590</sup> an ornament for the feet; (23) golden *kinkinī*, <sup>2591</sup> a girdle of small golden bells worn on the legs and (24) *udghaṭṭana*, <sup>2592</sup> an ornament for the legs.

(2) *Weaving*—In the *Mūkapanga Jātaka* <sup>2593</sup> there is a nice simile from weaving. Life has been compared to a piece of cloth, Death to the weaver and Night to the woof. The weaver will place the warp first and as he places the woof, there will be less of the cloth to be woven; so also

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| <p><sup>2571</sup> <i>Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka</i> (No. 542); <i>Bhūridatta</i> (No. 543); <i>Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra</i>, III. 8. 1; <i>Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra</i>, II. 6. 26; <i>Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra</i>, III. 1. 18.</p> <p><sup>2572</sup> <i>Nānāchhando Jātaka</i> (No. 289); <i>Rohantamīga</i> (No. 501).</p> <p><sup>2573</sup> <i>Mapikundala Jātaka</i> (No. 351); <i>Chāmpēya</i> (No. 506); <i>Nalinikā</i> (No. 526); <i>Unmādayantī</i> (No. 527).</p> <p><sup>2574</sup> <i>Nalinikā Jātaka</i> (No. 526).</p> <p><sup>2575</sup> <i>Kuśa Jātaka</i> (No. 531).</p> <p><sup>2576</sup> <i>Kurudharma Jātaka</i> (No. 276).</p> <p><sup>2577</sup> <i>Apappaka Jātaka</i> (No. 1).</p> <p><sup>2578</sup> <i>Viśwantara Jātaka</i> (No. 547).</p> <p><sup>2579</sup> <i>Ibid.</i></p> <p><sup>2580</sup> <i>Khadira Gṛhyasūtra</i>, III. 1. 43.</p> <p><sup>2581</sup> <i>Viśwantara Jātaka</i> (No. 547).</p> | <p><sup>2582</sup> <i>Kāṣṭhahārī</i> (No. 7); <i>Pūrṇapātrī</i> (No. 53); <i>Parantapa</i> (No. 416).</p> <p><sup>2583</sup> <i>Mātṛpoṣaka Jātaka</i> (No. 454); <i>Chāmpēya</i> (No. 506); <i>Kimchhando</i> (No. 511); <i>Khaṇḍahāla</i> (No. 542); <i>Viśwantara</i> (No. 547).</p> <p><sup>2584</sup> <i>Kimchhando Jātaka</i> (No. 511); <i>Viśwantara</i> (No. 547).</p> <p><sup>2585</sup> <i>Alamvuṣā Jātaka</i> (No. 523).</p> <p><sup>2586</sup> <i>Mahājanaka Jātaka</i> (No. 539).</p> <p><sup>2587</sup> <i>Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka</i> (No. 542).</p> <p><sup>2588</sup> <i>Nalinikā</i> (No. 526); <i>Kuśa</i> (No. 531); <i>Viśwantara</i> (No. 547); cf. <i>mekhala</i> in <i>Viśwantara</i> (No. 547).</p> <p><sup>2589</sup> <i>Viśwantara Jātaka</i> (No. 547).</p> <p><sup>2590</sup> <i>Ibid.</i></p> <p><sup>2591</sup> <i>Rohantamīga Jātaka</i> (No. 501).</p> <p><sup>2592</sup> <i>Viśwantara Jātaka</i> (No. 547).</p> <p><sup>2593</sup> No. 538.</p> |
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with the passing of successive nights there will be less number of years for a man to live. Besides the wool of sheep and goat silk, linen and cotton formed the materials for weaving.

(a) *Cotton*: From the Chullavagga we learn that the Buddha allowed the bhikkhus "to comb out the cotton, and make the cotton up into pillows if it be of any of these three kinds—cotton produced on trees, cotton produced on creepers and cotton produced from potaki-grass."<sup>2594</sup> In the Patimokkha we find weavers being employed to weave cloth for monks. The Jātakas also refer to chivara (dress of the Buddhist monks) being made by the monks themselves.<sup>2595</sup> The chivara consisted of (1) antaravāsaka, a small piece of cloth like a 'lungi'<sup>2596</sup> (2) uttarāsanga which covers up the whole body from the shoulders<sup>2597</sup> and (3) saṃghāti, an upper garment which covers up the whole body from the shoulders and used only when stirring out of the monastery.<sup>2598</sup> A kāyavandhana, belt made of cloth, was also used by all the monks.<sup>2599</sup> The ordinary lay householder used to wear (1) nivāsana, undergarment<sup>2600</sup> or sātaka<sup>2601</sup> and (2) prāvaraṇa, upper garment.<sup>2602</sup> Uṣṇiṣa, headdress<sup>2603</sup> and kañchuka, an overcoat resembling very much a dressing gown<sup>2604</sup> were worn by the nobility. We also find mention of (1) coverlet<sup>2605</sup> (2) coverlet for elephant inlaid with gold<sup>2606</sup> (3) coverlet for royal chariot with designs on it<sup>2607</sup> (4) multi-coloured coverlet for beddings<sup>2608</sup> (5) bathing cloth<sup>2609</sup> (6) cloth embroidered with gold<sup>2610</sup> (7) costly gandha-kāṣāya

<sup>2594</sup> Chullavagga, VI. 2. 6; See also IV. 44 and VIII. 1. 3.

<sup>2595</sup> Chullakaśreṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 4); Vaka (No. 38); Varuṇa (No. 71); Khullavodhi (No. 443).

<sup>2596</sup> Samiddhi Jātaka (No. 167).

<sup>2597</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2598</sup> Asadrśa Jātaka (No. 181).

<sup>2599</sup> Chullakaśreṣṭhi (No. 4); Matsya (No. 75).

<sup>2600</sup> Guṇa Jātaka (No. 197).

<sup>2601</sup> Mṛdulakṣaṇa (No. 66); Mangala (No. 87); Alinachitta (No. 156);

Kupḍaka-kukṣi-saindhava (No. 254).

<sup>2602</sup> Guṇa Jātaka (No. 197).

<sup>2603</sup> Śopananda (No. 532); Bhūridatta (No. 543).

<sup>2604</sup> Asadrśa (No. 181); Śarabhanga (No. 522).

<sup>2605</sup> Apanṇaka Jātaka (No. 1).

<sup>2606</sup> Śivi (No. 499); Śopa (No. 529).

<sup>2607</sup> Chitrasambhūta Jātaka (No. 498).

<sup>2608</sup> Tailapātra Jātaka (No. 96).

<sup>2609</sup> Matsya Jātaka (No. 75).

<sup>2610</sup> Kuśa Jātaka (No. 531).

sātaka, cloth dyed red and probably perfumed with aguru or musk<sup>2611</sup> (8) puspapata, cloth with flowers embroidered on it<sup>2612</sup> (9) handkerchief (eholaka)<sup>2613</sup> (10) canopy decorated with golden stars<sup>2614</sup> (11) screen<sup>2615</sup> (12) purse (sthavikā)<sup>2616</sup> (13) kanthā<sup>2617</sup> (14) seats made of cloth<sup>2618</sup> (15) pādapuñchhanam<sup>2619</sup> (16) and pillows.<sup>2620</sup> The Chullavagga<sup>2621</sup> refers to bolsters which were made for the use of high officials and were of five kinds according as they were stuffed with wool, cotton-cloth, bark, grass or leaves. The floor-cloth, mosquito-curtain and sundry other articles are also mentioned.<sup>2622</sup>

We read of an extensive field near Benares where cotton was cultivated<sup>2623</sup> and of a weavers' ward in the city itself.<sup>2624</sup> The Therīgāthā and the Jātakas<sup>2625</sup> frequently refer to the cotton-cloth of Benares some of which were so fine in texture that they fetched a thousand pieces<sup>2626</sup> or even a lac.<sup>2627</sup> The Mahāvagga<sup>2628</sup> and the Śivi Jātakas<sup>2629</sup> refer to the high quality of the cloth of the Śivi country.

(b) *Linen* : Cloth woven with the thread of śaṇa was called śāṇi. Screens were usually made of such linen cloth and were also called śāṇi.<sup>2630</sup>

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| <sup>2611</sup> Kāṣāya Jātaka (No. 221).  | (No. 543) refers to <i>masūraka</i> , a seat covered with 'gadi'.  |
| <sup>2612</sup> Chandrakinnara (No. 485).   |  |
| <sup>2613</sup> Chullavagga, VI. 19 ; V. 9. 4.  | <sup>2623</sup> Tupdila Jātaka (No. 388).  |
| <sup>2614</sup> Bhojājāneya Jātaka (No. 23) ; Tailapātra (No. 96) ; Kuṇḍaka-kukṣi-saindhava (No. 254).  | <sup>2624</sup> Bhīmasena Jātaka (No. 80).   |
| <sup>2615</sup> Kuṇḍaka-kukṣi-saindhava (No. 254).  | <sup>2625</sup> Ibid. ; Kāmaṇilāpa Jātaka (No. 297) ; Mahāśwāroha (No. 302) ; Madiyaka (No. 390) ; Viśa (No. 458) ; Mahāvāpij (No. 493) ; Sōpananda (No. 532) ; Mahāhamṣa (No. 534) ; Khaṇḍahāla (No. 542) ; Mahāunmārga (No. 546) ; Viśwantara (No. 547). |
| <sup>2616</sup> Susīma Jātaka (No. 163) ; Kuṇḍaka-kukṣi-saindhava (No. 254) ; Triśakuna (No. 521).  | <sup>2626</sup> Gupā Jātaka (No. 157) ; Therīgāthā Ch. XIV.  |
| <sup>2617</sup> Pāpinī, II. 4. 20 ; IV. 2. 142-43.  | <sup>2627</sup> Mahāśwāroha Jātaka (No. 302) ; Mahāunmārga (No. 546).  |
| <sup>2618</sup> Gupā Jātaka (No. 157).  | <sup>2628</sup> VIII. 1.   |
| <sup>2619</sup> Ibid.   | <sup>2629</sup> No. 499.   |
| <sup>2620</sup> Mahāśīlavaj Jātaka (No. 5).   | <sup>2630</sup> Asadīśa Jātaka (No. 181) ; Kuṇḍaka-kukṣi-saindhava (No. 254).  |
| <sup>2621</sup> VI. 27. 1.  |  |
| <sup>2622</sup> Ibid., VI. 20. 1 ; V. 14. 1 ; V. 9. 4 ; VI. 19 ; Mahāvagga (V. 10. 3) refers to cotton coverlets dyed with figures of animals (compare fn. No. 2607). The Bhūridatta Jātaka |  |

We also read of (1) cloth-made bags for storing up grains (bhaṣṭā)<sup>2631</sup> (2) cloth-made bags for keeping shoes<sup>2632</sup> (3) tents (maṇḍapa)<sup>2633</sup> and (4) kṣauma, linen cloth.<sup>2634</sup> Kautumvara was famous for her cloth<sup>2635</sup> specially linen (kṣauma).<sup>2636</sup> The Sudhābhajana Jātaka<sup>2637</sup> refers to coarse cloth made from the threads spun out of the roots of trees.

(c) *Silk* : Silk-fabrics are mentioned in the Majjhimaśīla and in the Bhikkhu-Pātimokkha (on Eḍakalomavagga). The word kosiyaṃissakam (meaning mixed with silk) shows that mixed silk was also known. Kauṣeya cloths are also referred to in Pāṇini.<sup>2638</sup> The Dadhivāhana Jātaka<sup>2639</sup> refers to screens made of silk cloth ; while from the Therigāthā we learn that the sick fabrics of Benares were highly prized in those days.

(d) *Woolens* : The Mahāvagga<sup>2640</sup> refers to coverlets with long fleece, counterpanes of many colours, woolen rugs with long hair on one or both sides, carpet inwrought with gold or with silk, large woolen carpets, rich elephant housings, horse-rugs or carriage rugs, large cushions and crimson cushions. In the Jātakas we read not only of blankets<sup>2641</sup> but also of carpets,<sup>2642</sup> traps made of wool for catching birds,<sup>2643</sup> screen made of raktakamvala<sup>2644</sup> and shoes made of cloth woven with threads of different colours and decorated with gold.<sup>2645</sup>

In the Mahāvāṇij Jātaka<sup>2646</sup> we have “kuṭṭiyo paṭiyāni cha.” The commentator says “kuṭṭiyo haṭṭhattharādayo paṭiyāni unṇāmaya pachcha-ttharaṇāni setakamvalāni pi vadanti” ; so that woolen shawl or some such

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<sup>2631</sup> Illasa Jātaka (No. 78).	<sup>2639</sup> No. 186.
<sup>2632</sup> Mitramitra Jātaka (No. 197).	<sup>2640</sup> V. 10. 3.
<sup>2633</sup> Chullakāśreṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 4) ; Devadharma (No. 6) ; Kulāyaka (No. 31) ; Maśaka (No. 44) ; Śaśa (No. 316) ; Uddālaka (No. 487).	<sup>2641</sup> Śilavaṇṇāga Jātaka (No. 72) ; Mahāvāṇij (No. 493).
<sup>2634</sup> Alinacchitta Jātaka (No. 156).	<sup>2642</sup> Kuṇḍaka-kukṣi-sindhava (No. 254). Pāṇini (IV. 2. 12) also refers to carpets.
<sup>2635</sup> Mahājanaka Jātaka (No. 539) ; Viśwantara (No. 547).	<sup>2643</sup> Kakkara Jātaka (No. 209).
<sup>2636</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).	<sup>2644</sup> Bhojājāneya Jātaka (No. 23).
<sup>2637</sup> No. 535.	<sup>2645</sup> Bhūridatta Jātaka (No. 543).
<sup>2638</sup> IV. 3. 32.	<sup>2646</sup> No. 493.



costly woolen is meant. In the same Jātaka we also have “Uddiyāne cha kamvala.” The commentator says “Uddiyā nama kamvalā atthi.” If uddiya be taken as derived from Sanskrit *udra* then uddiya will mean made from the fine hair of *udbiṛāla*. Blankets made of goat’s hair called *gonako* are mentioned not only in the *Majjhimaśīla* but also in the *Jātakas*.<sup>2647</sup> The *Śālikedāra Jātaka*<sup>2648</sup> refers to net made of the hair of horse’s tail for catching birds. *Gāndhāra* was famous for her blankets<sup>2649</sup> and some of them were so fine as to fetch a lac pices.<sup>2650</sup>

(3) *Carpentry*: In addition to the ordinary carpenter who made wooden articles for domestic use, there were skilled workmen employed in building carts (*Māmsa Jātaka* No. 315) and chariots<sup>2651</sup> and in building dugouts,<sup>2652</sup> boats<sup>2653</sup> and ships.<sup>2654</sup> Among wooden articles for domestic use we find (1) *paryanka*, high class bedstead<sup>2655</sup> (2) *phalakāsana*,<sup>2656</sup> bench (3) *śayyāphalaka*,<sup>2657</sup> ordinary wooden bedstead (4) stool<sup>2658</sup> (5) benches long enough to accommodate three persons<sup>2659</sup> (6) *āsandi*<sup>2660</sup> (7) *āsandaka* (rectangular chair)<sup>2661</sup> (8) sofa (*sattango*)<sup>2662</sup> (9) sofa with arms to it<sup>2663</sup> (10) arm-chair<sup>2664</sup> (11) state chair (*bhadda-piṭham*)<sup>2665</sup> (12) cushioned chair

<sup>2647</sup> *Alamvuṣā* (No. 523); *Mahājanaka* (No. 539).

<sup>2648</sup> No. 484.

<sup>2649</sup> *Viśwantara Jātaka* (No. 547).

<sup>2650</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2651</sup> *Spandana* (No. 475); *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra*, I. 8. 18; I. 10. 1-3; III. 14; *Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, IV. 7. 32; *Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, II. 6. 1, 9; III. 12. 2; I. 8. 1.

<sup>2652</sup> *Chāmpēya Jātaka* (No. 506).

<sup>2653</sup> *Samudra-vāṇij Jātaka* (No. 465).

<sup>2654</sup> *Śāṅkha Jātaka* (No. 442).

<sup>2655</sup> *Devadharmā Jātaka* (No. 7); *Surāpāna* (No. 81); *Vairi* (No. 103); *Pañchaguru* (No. 132); *Grāmaṇi-chanda* (No. 257); *Maṇikūṇḍala* (No. 351); *Sivi* (No. 499); *Alam-*

*vuṣā* (No. 523); cf. *Pallanka* in *Chullavagga*, VI. 141; VI. 8. 1. etc.; *Mahāvagga*, V. 10. 3.

<sup>2656</sup> *Kulāyaka Jātaka* (No. 31); *Markata* (No. 173); *Kunāla* (No. 536).

<sup>2657</sup> *Mṛdulakṣana Jātaka* (No. 66); *Indrasamānagotra* (No. 161).

<sup>2658</sup> *Mahāsvapna* (No. 77); *Illisa* (No. 78).

<sup>2659</sup> *Chullavagga*, VI. 13. 2.

<sup>2660</sup> *Ibid.*, VI. 14. 1; VI. 8. 1 etc.; *Mahāvagga*, V. 10. 3.

<sup>2661</sup> *Chullavagga*, VI. 2. 4; cf. *Chullavagga*, VI. 20. 2 and VIII. 1. 3.

<sup>2662</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2663</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2664</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2665</sup> *Ibid.*

(vithikā)<sup>2666</sup> (13) chair raised on a pedestal (elaka-padaka pīṭham)<sup>2667</sup> (14) chair with many legs (āmalakavaṇṭhika-pīṭham)<sup>2668</sup> (15) cane-bottomed chair (koccham)<sup>2669</sup> (16) straw-bottomed chair<sup>2670</sup> (16) litter or sedan-chair<sup>2671</sup> (17) board to lean against (apassena-phalakam)<sup>2672</sup> (18) wooden plank (phalaka) used as a slate for writing<sup>2673</sup> (19) dice-board (akkhasa phalakam)<sup>2674</sup> (20) wooden pestle and mortar<sup>2675</sup> (21) wooden spoon<sup>2676</sup> (22) juhu, spoon<sup>2677</sup> (23) upabhr̥t, a spoon<sup>2678</sup> (24) darvi, a spoon<sup>2679</sup> (25) sruk, a laddle<sup>2680</sup> (26) sruva, small sacrificial ladle<sup>2681</sup> (27) dhruva, big sacrificial ladle<sup>2682</sup> (28) agnihotrahavani, the ladle with which Agnihotra oblations were offered<sup>2683</sup> (29) a wooden vessel called pātri<sup>2684</sup> (30) prasitraharaṇa (the vessel into which the portion of the sacrificial food belonging to Brahman is put)<sup>2685</sup> (31) wooden dish<sup>2686</sup> (32) wooden sacrificial cup<sup>2687</sup> (33) droṇa or droṇi, a vessel for measurement<sup>2688</sup> (34) karīṣa, a vessel for measurement<sup>2689</sup> (35) amnaṇa, a vessel for measurement<sup>2690</sup> (36) wooden tubs used in watering plants<sup>2691</sup> (37) wooden yoke for carrying loads (Pāli kājjo or kājcho)<sup>2692</sup> and (38) wooden boxes

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| <sup>2666</sup> Ibid.  | <sup>2678</sup> Ibid., IV. 3. 3.                               |
| <sup>2667</sup> Ibid.  | <sup>2679</sup> Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, III. 2. 2 ;                |
| <sup>2668</sup> Ibid.  | Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, II. 14. 14,                              |
| <sup>2669</sup> Ibid.  | 20, 24.  |
| <sup>2670</sup> Ibid.  |  |
| <sup>2671</sup> Vātaṃga Jātaka (No. 14) ; Mahāvagga, V. 10. 2.   | <sup>2680</sup> Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 9. 14.              |
| <sup>2672</sup> Mahāvagga, I. 25. 15, 16.  | <sup>2681</sup> Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, IV. 3. 6 ;              |
| <sup>2673</sup> Kaṭāhaka Jātaka (No. 125).   | Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 8. 24 ;                             |
| <sup>2674</sup> Alamvuṣā Jātaka (No. 523). The commentator however takes akkha in the sense of gold : akkhassa ti suvaṇṇaphalakam viya visālā. Compare ākarṣa-phalaka in Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, II. 10. 17 which according to the commentator Rāma-kṛṣṇa was made of udumvara wood. | I. 9. 4 ; I. 9. 13 ; I. 9. 14 ; Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I. 1. 3. |
| <sup>2675</sup> Nānāchhando Jātaka (No. 289).  | <sup>2682</sup> Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, IV. 3. 5.               |
| <sup>2676</sup> Kaṭāhaka Jātaka (No. 125) ; Viśwan-tara (No. 547) ; cf. Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, II. 1. 2, 9.  | <sup>2683</sup> Ibid., IV. 3. 4.                               |
| <sup>2677</sup> Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, IV. 3. 2.   | <sup>2684</sup> Ibid., IV. 3. 10.                              |
|  | <sup>2685</sup> Ibid., IV. 3. 8.                               |
|  | <sup>2686</sup> Ibid., II. 1. 4.                               |
|  | <sup>2687</sup> Ibid., IV. 3. 11.                              |
|  | <sup>2688</sup> Āmra Jātaka (No. 124) ; Vikarṇaka (No. 232).   |
|  | <sup>2689</sup> Vartaka Jātaka (No. 35).                       |
|  | <sup>2690</sup> Ibid.  |
|  | <sup>2691</sup> Ārāmadūṣaka Jātaka (No. 46).                   |
|  | <sup>2692</sup> Mṛdulakṣaṇa Jātaka (No. 66).                   |

(peṭikā).<sup>2693</sup> The manufacture of wooden sandals is described in the Mahājanaka Jātaka<sup>2694</sup>; while razor of udumvara wood,<sup>2695</sup> sphya (wooden sacrificial sword)<sup>2696</sup> and wooden shields<sup>2697</sup> are also mentioned.

In the construction of houses the carpenter obtained the full scope for his skill. The Alinachitta Jātaka<sup>2698</sup> tells us how the carpenters of a village near Benares would go up the river in a vessel and enter the forest, where they would shape beams and planks for house-building and put together the framework of one storey or two storey houses, numbering all the pieces from the main post onwards; these they then brought down to the river bank and put them all aboard; then rowing down-stream again they would build houses to order, as it was required of them. The palace of the King of Benares mentioned in the Kuśanāli<sup>2699</sup> and Bhadrāśāla Jātakas<sup>2700</sup> was a one-pillared one, probably like the famous one-pillared Durbar Hall of Fatepur Sikri, the pillar being made of wood.

(4) *Grass and reed work*—The worker in grass and reeds (nalakāra) made a large variety of articles for daily use among which the more important were (1) mat (kiliñjaka),<sup>2701</sup> (2) basket (pachchhi = kalopi),<sup>2702</sup>

<sup>2693</sup> Mangala (No. 87); Makāmayūra (No. 491). Box made of sandal-wood is mentioned in Matsya Jātaka (No. 75).

<sup>2694</sup> No. 539.

<sup>2695</sup> Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, II. 3. 17, 23, 25.

<sup>2696</sup> Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, IV. 3. 4. On the different implements mentioned in the Gṛhyasūtras, compare Prof. Max Muller's paper in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Vol. IX. pp. VII. seqq.; LXXVIII seqq. On the Prāsitrāharana compare Hillebrandt, Neu-und Vollmond-

sopfer, pp. 119 (with note 6), 120 and 131.

<sup>2697</sup> Svetaketu Jātaka (No. 377).

<sup>2698</sup> No. 156.

<sup>2699</sup> No. 121.

<sup>2700</sup> No. 465.

<sup>2701</sup> Sukhavihāri (No. 10); Grāmapī-chaṇḍa (No. 257); Javanahamṣa (No. 476); Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I. 5. 2.

<sup>2702</sup> Nanda (No. 39); Mṛdulakṣaṇa (No. 66); Illisa (No. 78); Surāpāna (No. 81); Soṇa (No. 529); Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, II. 14. 11, 20; III. 2. 4; Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, IV. 3. 15; Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, III. 2. 6.

(3) small basket (changotaka)<sup>2703</sup> (4) winnowing basket (Pāli kullaka)<sup>2704</sup> (5) cage-like structure made of cane or bamboo-splints for catching fish (kumina)<sup>2705</sup> (6) cage-like structure made of straw for birds to live in<sup>2706</sup> (7) sandals made of grass<sup>2707</sup> (8) hand-punkha<sup>2708</sup> (9) umbrella made of leaves<sup>2709</sup> (10) string loop (śikya)<sup>2710</sup> (11) a ring made of straw over which coolies keep the load they are to carry on their heads (chumvataka)<sup>2711</sup> (12) broom-stick<sup>2712</sup> (13) rope<sup>2713</sup> (14) flute or pipe (veṇudāṇḍa).<sup>2714</sup> Receptacles were also made out of the leaves of trees (patrapuṭa).<sup>2715</sup>

(5) *Pottery* : This industry was sufficiently developed to admit of localisation in particular places. The Jātakas<sup>2716</sup> repeatedly mention village of potters. According to the Uvāsagadasao<sup>2717</sup> there were 500 potter-shops outside the town of Polāsapura ; apparently these formed a suburban village of potters. Among the vessels of earthenware<sup>2718</sup> we find (1) pitcher<sup>2719</sup> (2) jug<sup>2720</sup> (3) jar<sup>2721</sup> (4) a large water-jar<sup>2722</sup> (5) drinking pot<sup>2723</sup> (6) liquor-cup<sup>2724</sup> (7) sthālī<sup>2725</sup> (8) pot for keep-

- <sup>2703</sup> Illisa Jātaka (78) ; Parṇika (No 102) ; Mahāhaṃsa (No 534).  
<sup>2704</sup> Vardhakiśūkara (No. 283) ; Nānā-chhando (No. 289) ; Mahājanaka (No. 539) ; Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, IV. 5. 7.  
<sup>2705</sup> Haritamāta Jātaka (No. 238).  
<sup>2706</sup> Kapota (No. 42) ; Lola (No. 274).  
<sup>2707</sup> Daśaratha Jātaka (No 461).  
<sup>2708</sup> Durvalakāṣṭha Jātaka (No. 105) ; Śūkara (No. 153).  
<sup>2709</sup> Tilamuṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 252) ; Brahmadatta (No. 323).  
<sup>2710</sup> Ekarāja Jātaka (No. 303).  
<sup>2711</sup> Sammodamāna Jātaka (No. 33).  
<sup>2712</sup> Triparyasta Jātaka (No. 16).  
<sup>2713</sup> Mahāsvapna (No. 77) ; Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, III. 1. 52.  
<sup>2714</sup> Chandrakinnara Jātaka (No. 48.).

- <sup>2715</sup> Puṭadāṣaka Jātaka (No. 28) ; Matsyadāna (No. 288).  
<sup>2716</sup> III. 376 ; III. 508.  
<sup>2717</sup> VII. 181. 184.  
<sup>2718</sup> Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, IV. 7. 10.  
<sup>2719</sup> Vātamṛga (No. 14) : Mahāsvapna (No. 77) ; Indrasamānagotra (No. 161) ; Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 13. 5 ; II. 17. 2 ; III. 4. 3 ; IV. 1. 3 ; IV. 3. 4 ; IV. 17. 4 ; Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, I. 3. 5.  
<sup>2720</sup> Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, II. 1. 2, 9.  
<sup>2721</sup> Ibid., IV. 6. 4.  
<sup>2722</sup> Mṛdulakṣaṇa Jātaka (No. 66).  
<sup>2723</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>2724</sup> Illisa Jātaka (No. 78).  
<sup>2725</sup> Mahilāmukha (No. 26) ; Khulladhanurgraha (No. 374).

ing curds<sup>2726</sup> and (9) vat (chāṭi).<sup>2727</sup> The skill of the potter was exhibited in the preparation of earthen pots with female figures engraved on them and of earthen dolls for children mentioned in the Kuśa Jātaka.<sup>2728</sup> In the Viśwantara Jātaka<sup>2729</sup> we are told that some of these dolls were representations of the images of elephants, horses, bulls, śyāma deer, monkey (kadalimṛga), hare, owl, peacock, swan and birds like heron etc.

(b) *Leather-work*: The leather was tanned and softened by the application of kṣīra<sup>2730</sup> and the leather-worker manufactured oil flasks and "shoes of white leather very elaborately worked and high-heeled so as to make the wearer seem taller."<sup>2731</sup> The shoes of the Vratyas are described in the Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra<sup>2732</sup> as black and pointed (karṇinyan). The Gṛhyasūtras<sup>2733</sup> and the Jātakas<sup>2734</sup> refer to shoes some of which had only one sole<sup>2735</sup> and were so stylish as to fetch 100, 500 and even 1000 pieces.<sup>2736</sup> Vasiṣṭha in his Dharmasūtras<sup>2737</sup> refers to objects made of leather among which the Jātakas mention (1) leather undergarment (chamma nivāsana)<sup>2738</sup> (2) leather upper garment (chamma prāvaraṇa)<sup>2739</sup> (3) leather coverlet of chariot<sup>2740</sup> (4) leather-made fittings of chariots<sup>2741</sup> (5) leather by which the arm is protected against the bowstring<sup>2742</sup> (6) leather-belt for elephant<sup>2743</sup> (7) leather shoe for elephant<sup>2744</sup> (8) leather umbrella for elephant<sup>2745</sup> (9) leather strap to

<sup>2726</sup> Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhya-sūtra, III. 2. 9.

<sup>2727</sup> Pañchāudha Jātaka (No. 55);  
Kumbha (No. 512).

<sup>2728</sup> No. 531.

<sup>2729</sup> No. 547.

<sup>2730</sup> In the Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546) we have "Phalasatam chammam." According to the commentator phalasam=phalasatap pamāṇam vahu kṣāre khādāpetvā mīdubhāvamupanītam.

<sup>2731</sup> Nearchos, Fragments 9 and 10—  
Arrian—Indica, 16.

<sup>2732</sup> XXII. 4.

<sup>2733</sup> Āśvālāyana, III. 8. 1; Khadira,  
II. 5. 16; III. 1. 25; III. 1. 41;

Pāraskara, II. 6. 30, 32; Sāṅkhyā-  
yana, III. 1. 10, 18.

<sup>2734</sup> Upānaha Jātaka (No. 201).

<sup>2735</sup> Tilamuṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 256);  
Brahmadatta (No. 323).

<sup>2736</sup> Sāṅkha Jātaka (No. 42)

<sup>2737</sup> III. 49—63.

<sup>2738</sup> Brahmadatta Jātaka (No. 323).

<sup>2739</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2740</sup> Kukkura Jātaka (No. 22).

<sup>2741</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2742</sup> Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, III. 12. 11.

<sup>2743</sup> Śaḍadanta Jātaka (No. 514).

<sup>2744</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2745</sup> Ibid.

bind a dog<sup>2746</sup> (10) net of leather-straps to catch deer<sup>2747</sup> (11) leather case for keeping sword<sup>2748</sup> (12) leather bag for keeping wealth (chamma pasivvaka)<sup>2749</sup> and (13) leather made vessel for sprinkling water on plants.<sup>2750</sup>

(7) *Wine-distilling*: The preparation of wine was an important industry as drinking was quite common in those days. The Surāpāna Jātaka<sup>2751</sup> gives us the mythological origin of surā and vāruṇi wines and dilates on the evils of drinking. In the Ayogṛha Jātaka<sup>2752</sup> the uncertainty of human life has been compared to the uncertainty of the cloth of the drunkard which is liable to be exchanged at any moment for a glass of liquor. From the Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra<sup>2753</sup> we find that on occasions of marriage four or eight women who are not widows drink wine and dance four times. The Jātakas<sup>2754</sup> also show that drinking formed an important part of all festive ceremonies. From the Surāpāna Jātaka<sup>2755</sup> we learn that there was a Drink Festival probably like the Greek Dionysia and the Roman Bacchanalia. In the Gangāmāla Jātaka<sup>2756</sup> we read of a day-labourer and his lady-love who decided to join a festival and to regale themselves with strong drink, garland and perfumes. We read of liquor-shops (āpīna),<sup>2757</sup> liquor cups<sup>2758</sup> and of dried fish taken along with liquor.<sup>2759</sup> We find different varieties of wine like (1) surā<sup>2760</sup> (2) meraya (= Sans. maireya)<sup>2761</sup> (3) vāruṇi<sup>2762</sup> (4) kapotikā<sup>2763</sup> (5) kilāla<sup>2764</sup>

<sup>2746</sup> Śunaka Jātaka (No. 242); śaḍadanta (No. 514).

<sup>2747</sup> Suvarṇamṛga Jātaka (No. 359).

<sup>2748</sup> Asadṛṣa Jātaka (No. 181); Gaṇḍa-tinduka (No. 519).

<sup>2749</sup> Vṛhachchhatra Jātaka (No. 336); cf. śaḍadanta (No. 514).

<sup>2750</sup> Arāmadūṣaka Jātaka (No. 46).

<sup>2751</sup> No. 81.

<sup>2752</sup> No. 510.

<sup>2753</sup> I. 11. 5.

<sup>2754</sup> Tuṇḍila Jātaka (No. 388); Pāda-kuśalamāpava (No. 432).

<sup>2755</sup> No. 81.

<sup>2756</sup> No. 421.

<sup>2757</sup> Anavirati Jātaka (No. 65).

<sup>2758</sup> Illisa Jātaka (No. 78).

<sup>2759</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2760</sup> Illisa (No. 78); Surāpāna (No. 81); Pāda-kuśalamāpava (No. 432); Tuṇḍila (No. 388); Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 11. 5.

<sup>2761</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).

<sup>2762</sup> Vāruṇi (No. 47); Surāpāna (No. 81).

<sup>2763</sup> Surāpāna Jātaka (No. 81).

<sup>2764</sup> Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, III. 3. 7; See Zimmer—Altindisches Leben, p. 281.

(6) wine prepared out of the juice of sugarcane.<sup>2765</sup> (7) and wine prepared out of grapes for which Kapisa was famous in the days of Pāṇini.<sup>2766</sup> Kapotikā wine was a rarity though the ordinary variety of wine seems to have been cheap for a glass was worth only one māśā.<sup>2767</sup> Liquor of superior strength<sup>2768</sup> was however dear as appears from the Vāruṇi Jātaka<sup>2769</sup> where we are told of a wine-distiller who used to sell strong drink in exchange for gold and silver pieces.

(8) *Stone-work* : In the Vabhru Jātaka<sup>2770</sup> we find a worker in stone (pāṣāṇa-kutṭaka) busy with his work of cutting stone in a ruined village and also hollowing out a cavity in a white crystal as a cage for a mouse. A crystal cave for a mouse is also mentioned in the Satyampikā Jātaka.<sup>2771</sup> Crystal palaces mentioned in the Jātakas<sup>2772</sup> some of which were seven-storeyed<sup>2773</sup> are probably exaggerations. In the Śūkara Jātaka<sup>2774</sup> we are told that the Gandhakuṭṭira monastery was furnished with a marble staircase (maṇisopāṇa). Stone images of hares<sup>2775</sup> and elephants<sup>2776</sup> were also manufactured. We have already referred to the crystal bowl and steatite vases discovered within the Piprawa stupa belonging to 450 B. C., an examination of which shows that they were turned on the lathe the use of which accounts for their high polish and beauty.

(9) *Ivory work* : The worker in ivory (dantakāra) produced various articles including ornaments like bangles.<sup>2777</sup> According to Nearchos "the Indians wear earrings of ivory, those that are very well off."<sup>2778</sup> Benares was one of the principal centres of this industry which was developed enough to be localised in the ivory workers' ward (dantakāravithi).<sup>2779</sup>

<sup>2765</sup> Samudravāṇij Jātaka (No. 465).

<sup>2766</sup> IV. 2. 99.

<sup>2767</sup> Illisa Jātaka (No. 78).

<sup>2768</sup> Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, III. 4. 9.

<sup>2769</sup> No. 47.

<sup>2770</sup> No. 137.

<sup>2771</sup> No. 73.

<sup>2772</sup> Mitravinda Jātaka (No. 367); Āśāṅkā (No. 380); Chaturdvāra (No. 439); Nemi (No. 541).

<sup>2773</sup> Lośaka Jātaka (No. 41).

<sup>2774</sup> No. 153.

<sup>2775</sup> Ghaṭa Jātaka (No. 454).

<sup>2776</sup> Mātṛpoṣaka Jātaka (No. 455).

<sup>2777</sup> Kāṣāya Jātaka (No. 221).

<sup>2778</sup> Fragments 9 and 10 = Arrian—Indica, 16.

<sup>2779</sup> Śilavannāga Jātaka (No. 72); Kāṣāya (No. 221).

(10) *Work in bone, horn, conch-shell and coral*: Vasiṣṭha in his Dharmasūtras<sup>2780</sup> refers to objects made of bone and conch shells. The Jātakas<sup>2781</sup> frequently refer to the manufacture of bows from the horn of the sheep on account of its flexibility just as Homer's Illiad refers to the Greek custom of manufacturing box from the horn of the ibex. The mention in the Ghāṭa Jātaka<sup>2782</sup> of images of hares made of coral and of jewels (māṇikya) is corroborated by the find of ornaments made of coral and precious stones in the Piprawa stupa belonging to 450 B. C.

(11) *Salt industry*: The preparation of salt by the evaporation of saline water is clearly referred to in the Bhūridatta Jātaka.<sup>2783</sup> The manufacture of salt by the loṇakāra<sup>2784</sup> is also mentioned in the Kauśāmvi Jātaka.

(12) *Sugar*: Extraction of juice from sugarcane and preparation of molasses by thickening the juice by heating it on fire is described in the Mahāsvapna Jātaka.<sup>2785</sup> In this connection the following remark of Megasthenes will be found interesting: "Stones are dug up of the colour of frankincense, more sweet than figs or honey."<sup>2786</sup> These are probably sugarcandy which he took to be a kind of crystal.

(13) *Dyeing*: We find monks dyeing their chivara<sup>2787</sup> and people using cloth dyed (1) in red colour (kāṣāya)<sup>2788</sup> (2) with safflower (kusumbha)<sup>2789</sup> (3) in yellow with karṇikāra flower,<sup>2790</sup> (4) in blue with kaṇṭakuraṇḍa<sup>2791</sup> and (5) in golden colour.<sup>2792</sup>

In those days cloth was stiffened with <sup>2793</sup> starch and then polished with conch (śankha). The Khullanārada Jātaka <sup>2794</sup> also refers to an

<sup>2780</sup> III. 49—63.

<sup>2781</sup> Asadṛṣa (No. 181); Śarabhaṅga (No. 522); Khaṇḍahāla (No. 542).

<sup>2782</sup> No. 454.

<sup>2783</sup> No. 543.

<sup>2784</sup> No. 428.

<sup>2785</sup> No. 77.

<sup>2786</sup> Fragment 10 = Strabo XV. C. 703.

<sup>2787</sup> Varuṇa (No. 71); Guṇa (No. 157).

<sup>2788</sup> Godhā (Nos. 138 and 325).

<sup>2789</sup> Puṣparakta Jātaka (No. 147).

<sup>2790</sup> Guṇa (No. 157); Dardara (No. 172).

<sup>2791</sup> Dardara Jātaka (No. 172).

<sup>2792</sup> Kāṣāya Jātaka (No. 221).

<sup>2793</sup> Vaka Jātaka (No. 38).

<sup>2794</sup> No. 477.



upper garment which was thus stiffened (ghaṭṭita) with starch. The Puṣparakta Jātaka <sup>2795</sup> refers to the custom of wearing cloth after it has been curled into a thousand folds.

**Architecture :—**In the pratyutpannavastu of the Jātakas <sup>2796</sup> we find frequent mention of kuti-kāra-sīkṣāpada (instruction to monks about the construction of houses) which is found in the Sūtravibhanga of the Vinaya Piṭaka. In the Grāmañchaṇḍa Jātaka <sup>2797</sup> we read of vāstu-vidyācārya who could find out the defects of building sites seven cubits underground and on whose advice the princes selected the sites for their palaces. The mason (iṭṭhaka-vaddhaki = Sans. iṣṭaka-vardhaki) <sup>2798</sup> was known and the Jātakas <sup>2799</sup> frequently refer to seven-storeyed houses (Sattabhūmaka-pāsāda). In India the use to which these seven-storeyed buildings were put was entirely private and had nothing to do with any worship of the stars like the seven-storeyed Ziggurats of Chaldæa. The Jātakas also refer to a two-storeyed palace <sup>2800</sup> and to a one-pillared palace. <sup>2801</sup> A vivid description of an unfinished palace as preserved in the Kukku Jātaka <sup>2802</sup> corroborates the evidence of the Kuśanāli <sup>2803</sup> and Bhadrāsāla Jātakas <sup>2804</sup> regarding the general use of wooden pillars in the construction of a house though the use of iron pillars was not altogether unknown. <sup>2805</sup> The Jātakas describe various other types of buildings, among which we notice (1) thatched houses for the ordinary people <sup>2806</sup>; (2) Dharmasālā in which seats were provided and drinking water kept stored up in jars <sup>2807</sup>; (3) Āsana-sālā, resting place for travellers <sup>2808</sup>; (4) Samsthāgīra (town-

<sup>2795</sup> No. 147.  
<sup>2796</sup> Mañikanṭha (No. 253); Brahmadaṭṭa (No. 323); Asthisena (No. 403).  
<sup>2797</sup> No. 257.  
<sup>2798</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).  
<sup>2799</sup> Khadirāṅgāra (No. 40); Illisa (No. 78); Mātanga (No. 497); ṣaḍadanta (No. 514); Viśwantara (No. 547).  
<sup>2800</sup> Komāyaputra Jātaka (No. 299).  
<sup>2801</sup> Kuśanāli Jātaka (No. 121); Bhadrāsāla (No. 465).

<sup>2802</sup> No. 396.  
<sup>2803</sup> No. 121.  
<sup>2804</sup> No. 465.  
<sup>2805</sup> Ayogṛha Jātaka (No. 510).  
<sup>2806</sup> Āyāchitabhakta Jātaka (No. 17); Śakuna (No. 36); Aśātamantra (No. 61); Mṛdulakṣaṇa (No. 66); Kuddāla (No. 70); Madhyama Nikāya, Sutra 81.  
<sup>2807</sup> Kulāyaka Jātaka (No. 31).  
<sup>2808</sup> Abhyantara Jātaka (No. 281).

hall)<sup>2809</sup>; (5) Chaitya built on the relic of Bodhisattva as kapirāja; <sup>2810</sup> (6) kṛidāsālā which was constructed after the ground was levelled down and properly measured with a tape.<sup>2811</sup> A portion of this building was reserved for the reception of guests, a portion for the poor and helpless, a portion for the delivery of poor and helpless women who were carrying and a portion for the merchants to store up their wares. The building was decorated with paintings inside and beautified by the excavation of a tank near by and the construction of an adjoining garden in which fruit and flower trees were planted; and (7) a privy (vachchhaṭṭhāna) with doors in which a lamp was kept burning the whole night.<sup>2812</sup>

The details of buildings are found in abundance in the canonical texts of the Buddhists. Buddha enjoined on his devotees the supervision of building construction as one of the duties of the order.<sup>2813</sup> We read even of a care-taker of houses known as āvāsika.<sup>2814</sup> The Bhikkhus were thus told by the Blessed One with respect to buildings: "I allow you, O Bhikkhus, abodes of five kinds—vihāra, ardhayoga, prāsāda, harmya and gūhā."<sup>2815</sup> Vihāra is the well-known Buddhist monastery, originally implying the halls where the monks met. Ardhayoga literally means half-joining and according to Buddhaghosa<sup>2816</sup> refers to suvarṇa-vangagrha which Professors Oldenburg and Rhys Davids have rendered as 'gold-coloured Bengal house'. Was it the much familiar Bengal house with gold-coloured straw-covering or thatch? It is called half-joining, for, both the halves of the roof are joined together at the ridge on the top of the roofing, looking like parted hair. Prāsāda is a residential storeyed building; harmya is a more pompous type of storeyed house. Gūhā literally means cave and would refer to under-

<sup>2809</sup> Mahāmangala Jātaka (No. 453);  
Bhadraśāla (No. 465).

<sup>2810</sup> Mahākapi (No. 407).

<sup>2811</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).

<sup>2812</sup> Tripariyasta Jātaka (No. 16).

<sup>2813</sup> Chullavagga, VI. 17. 1.

<sup>2814</sup> Bīsa Jātaka (No. 488).

<sup>2815</sup> Vinaya texts: Mahāvagga, I. 30. 4.  
Chullavagga, VI. 1. 2.

<sup>2816</sup> Buddhaghosa's commentary on  
Mahāvagga I. 30. 4 runs thus:  
Addayoga ti suvarṇa-vangageham.  
Pāsādo ti dīghapāsādo. Hammi-  
yān ti upari ākāsatale patitṭhitaku-  
tāgāro pāsādo yeva. Guhā ti  
itṭhakaguhā silāguhā dārughā  
paṃsughā

ground buildings. One of the Jātakas<sup>2817</sup> actually contains an elaborate description of an underground palace and such have been the rock-cut temples, as in the famous Ajantā caves.

One should carefully select the building site so that it might be "not too far from the town and not too near, convenient for going and for coming, easily accessible to all who wish to visit him, by day not too crowded, by night not exposed to too much noise and alarm."<sup>2818</sup>

After the selection of the site houses, at least of the richer classes, were extensively built, for, we are told that "an upāsaka (devotee) has built for his own use a residence, a sleeping room, a stable, a tower, an one-peaked building, a shop, a boutique, a storeyed house, an attic, a cave, a cell, a store-room, a refectory, a fire-room, a kitchen, a privy, a place to walk in, a well, a well-house, a yantragṛha (which is supposed by Buhler to be 'a bathing place for hot sitting baths'), a yantragṛha room, a lotus pond and a pavilion."<sup>2819</sup> Other houses comprised "dwelling rooms and retiring rooms and store-rooms and service-halls and halls with fire-places in them, and store-house, and closets, and cloisters and halls for exercise, and wells and sheds for the well, and bath-rooms and halls attached to the bath rooms and ponds and open-roofed sheds (maṇḍapas)".<sup>2820</sup> The extensiveness of the buildings can be imagined from the length of time devoted to getting a house completely built. We are told that "with reference to the work of a small vihāra, it may be given in charge (of an overseer) as a navakarma (new work) for a period of five or six years, that on an aḍḍayoga for a period of seven or eight or twelve years".<sup>2821</sup> That the long periods were not idled away will be clear from the detail of houses gathered mainly from the Vinaya texts.<sup>2822</sup>

The whole compound is enclosed with ramparts (prākāra) of three kinds, namely, brick walls, stone walls, and wooden fences which are again surrounded with bamboo fences, thorn fences and ditches.<sup>2823</sup>

<sup>2817</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).

<sup>2818</sup> Chullavagga, VI. 4. 8.

<sup>2819</sup> Mahāvagga, III. 5. 9 ; also III. 5. 6.

<sup>2820</sup> Chullavagga, VI. 4. 10.

<sup>2821</sup> Ibid., VI. 17. 1.

<sup>2822</sup> Ibid., VI. 5.

<sup>2823</sup> Chullavagga, VI. 3. 7. 10.

Gateways are built with rooms and ornamental screen-work over them ;<sup>2824</sup> and gates are made of stakes interlaced with thorny brakes.<sup>2825</sup>

Five kinds of roofing are mentioned—brick-roofing, stone-roofing, cement roofing, straw-roofing and roofing of leaves.<sup>2826</sup> The roof is first covered with skins and plastered within and without ; then follow white-wash, blocking, red-colouring, wreath-work and creeper-work.<sup>2827</sup> The wooden roof of the underground palace described in the *Mahāunmārga Jātaka*<sup>2828</sup> was covered with *ulloka mattikā* and painted white. *Uloka* was an under-cloth used in the making of 'gadi' ; so it appears that the wooden roof was covered with cloth plastered with mud over which white-wash was applied.

The floors were of earth, not of wood, and were restored from time to time by fresh clay or dry cowdung being laid down, and then covered with a whitewash, in which sometimes black or red was mixed. From the parallel passage in *Mahāvagga* (I. 25. 15) and *Chullavagga* (VIII. 3. 1) it would seem that the red colouring was used rather for walls, and the black one for floors. It appears, however, that with a view to removing the dampness<sup>2829</sup> gravel was spread over the floor.<sup>2830</sup>

The doors are furnished with "door-posts and lintel, with hollows like a mortar for the door to revolve in, with projections to revolve in those hollows, with rings on the door for the bolt to work along in, with a block of wood fixed into the edge of the door-post, and containing a cavity for the bolt to go into (called the monkey's head), with a pin to secure the bolt by, with a connecting bolt, with a key-hole, with a hole for a

<sup>2824</sup> Ibid., VI. 4. 10 ; 3, 1 ; 'tosāṇa' of which excellent work in stone have been found at the Sānchi and Bharhut Topes.

<sup>2825</sup> *Chullavagga*, VI. 3. 10.

<sup>2826</sup> Ibid., VI. 3. 10 ; Compare also VI. 3. 8 ; 3. 3 etc.

<sup>2827</sup> Ibid., V. 11. 6 ; the rendering of the term 'ogumpheti' which also

occurs in the *Mahāvagga*, V. 11. by 'skius' seems doubtful and unsuitable. Buddhaghōṣa in his note at the latter place says 'aguṃ phiyaṇṭīti bhitti dāṇḍakādisu, veṭhetvā bandhāti.'

<sup>2828</sup> No. 543.

<sup>2829</sup> Rhys Davids and Oldenburg, note on *Chullavagga*, VI. 20. 2.

<sup>2830</sup> Compare *Chullavagga*, V. 14. 5.

string with which the door may be closed, and with a string for that purpose."<sup>2831</sup>

The windows are stated to be of three kinds according as they are made with railings, lattices or slips of wood.<sup>2832</sup> The shutters are adjustable and can be closed or opened whenever required.<sup>2833</sup>

There were stairs of three kinds viz., brick stairs, stone stairs and wooden stairs; and they were furnished with ālambana-bāhā or balustrades.<sup>2834</sup> The Gandhakuṭīra monastery was adorned by a marble stair case.<sup>2835</sup> A detailed description of flights of stairs is given in the Mahāsudassana Sutta: "Each of these had a thambhā, evidently posts or banisters; sūciyo, apparently cross-bars let into these banisters; and uphisam, either a headline running along the top of the banisters or a figure-head at the lower end of such headline."<sup>2836</sup>

In the Vinaya Texts<sup>2837</sup> we find described another sort of building—the hot-air baths. "They were built on an elevated basement faced with brick or stone with stone stairs upto it, and a railing round the verandah. The roof and walls were of wood, covered first with skins, and then plaster; the lower part only of the wall being faced with bricks. There was an ante-chamber, and a hot-room and a pool to bathe in. Seats were arranged round a fire-place in the middle of the hot-room; and to induce perspiration hot water was poured over the bathers."

In the Digha Nikāya<sup>2838</sup> there is a description of another sort of bath, an open-air bathing tank with flights of steps leading to it faced entirely of stone, and ornamented both with flowers and carvings.<sup>2839</sup>

<sup>2831</sup> Chullavagga, VI. 3. 8; also 2. 1 and 17. 1.

<sup>2832</sup> Chullavagga, VI. 2. 2.

<sup>2833</sup> Mahāvagga, I. 25. 18; Chullavagga, VIII. 2. 2.

<sup>2834</sup> Chullavagga, VI. 11. 6.

<sup>2835</sup> Sūkara Jātaka (No. 153).

<sup>2836</sup> Mahāsudassana Sutta, I. 59. See also Rhys Davids — Buddhist Suttas, p. 262; Compare Chullavagga, VI. 3. 3.

<sup>2837</sup> III. pp. 110, 297.

<sup>2838</sup> Rhys Davids—Buddhist Suttas, pp. 262 ff.

<sup>2839</sup> Rhys Davids in his Buddhist Suttas, p. 76 refers to several ancient baths still to be seen at Anurādhapura in a fair state of preservation in spite of the lapse of more than two thousand years that have elapsed since they were first constructed.

The Gr̥hyasūtras<sup>2840</sup> have also preserved many rules and rites on house-building. The building site we are told must be (1) even ground<sup>2841</sup> (2) inclined towards the south-west<sup>2842</sup> or a place from where the water flows off to the north-west<sup>2843</sup> or to the north<sup>2844</sup> (3) non-saline soil of undisputed property<sup>2845</sup> (4) covered with grass, herbs and trees<sup>2846</sup> (5) having no plants with thorns and milky juice<sup>2847</sup> (6) immune from destruction (by inundation etc.)<sup>2848</sup> (7) square in size<sup>2849</sup> or an oblong quadrangle in size<sup>2850</sup> or should have the form of a brick<sup>2851</sup> or of a round island<sup>2852</sup> and (8) there should be natural holes in the ground on all directions.<sup>2853</sup> The building-site is also to be examined in the following ways: "He should dig a pit knee-deep and fill it again with the same earth (which he has taken out of it). If (the earth) reaches out (of the pit, the ground is) excellent; if it is level, (it is) of middle quality; if it does not fill (the pit it is) to be rejected. After sunset he should fill (the pit) with water and leave it so through the night. If (in the morning) there is water in it (the ground is) excellent if it is moist, (it is) of middle quality; if it is dry, (it is) to be rejected".<sup>2854</sup> The arrangement not only of the posts but also of doors<sup>2855</sup> is carefully described. One should not, we are told, build a house with its door to the west.<sup>2856</sup> Let him construct a back-door so that it does not face the (chief) house-door; so that the householder or rather his valuable objects etc., which are in the house cannot be seen by passers-by.<sup>2857</sup>

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| <p><sup>2840</sup> Sāṅkhyāyana, III. 2-3; Āśvalāyana, II. 7-9; Pāraskara, III. 4. 1-4; 10-14, 18; Khadira, IV. 2. 6-15; Govila, IV. 7; Hiranyakeśin, I. 27-28; Āpastamva, 17.</p> <p><sup>2841</sup> Govila, IV. 7. 7.</p> <p><sup>2842</sup> Āpastamva, 17. 1.</p> <p><sup>2843</sup> Khadira, IV. 2. 7.</p> <p><sup>2844</sup> Govila, IV. 7. 3.</p> <p><sup>2845</sup> Āśvalāyana, II. 7. 2; Khadira, IV. 2. 6.</p> <p><sup>2846</sup> Āśvalāyana, II. 7. 3-4; Khadira, IV. 2. 6, 9-11; Govila, IV. 7. 2.</p> <p><sup>2847</sup> Āśvalāyana, II. 7. 5-6; Khadira, IV. 2. 8; Govila, IV. 7. 4.</p> | <p><sup>2848</sup> Govila, IV. 7. 2.</p> <p><sup>2849</sup> Āśvalāyana, II. 8. 9.</p> <p><sup>2850</sup> Ibid., II. 8. 10.</p> <p><sup>2851</sup> Khadira, IV. 2. 12; Govila, IV. 7. 12.</p> <p><sup>2852</sup> Govila, IV. 7. 13.</p> <p><sup>2853</sup> Ibid., IV. 7. 14; Khadira, IV. 2. 13.</p> <p><sup>2854</sup> Āśvalāyana Gr̥hyasūtra, II. 8. 2—5 = S. B. E. Vol. XXIX. p. 212.</p> <p><sup>2855</sup> Khadira Gr̥hyasūtra, IV. 2. 14—15; Govila Gr̥hyasūtra, IV. 7. 15—21.</p> <p><sup>2856</sup> Govila Gr̥hyasūtra, IV. 7. 18.</p> <p><sup>2857</sup> Ibid., IV. 7. 19—21. See also Oldenburg's notes on this passage in S. B. E., Vol. XXX. p. 121.</p> |
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The temple of the gods is mentioned in Pāṇini.<sup>2858</sup> In the Mānava Gr̥hyasūtra<sup>2859</sup> we are told "Let a daughter be married in a temple." The Sāṅkhyāyana Gr̥hyasūtra<sup>2860</sup> also refers to god's houses which one is enjoined to walk round, keeping right side turned towards them.

Fortunately for us we have some extant remains of the buildings of this period. The Baiṭhak of Jarāsandha and the walls of Rājagṛha the ruins of which have been unearthed, were built according to Cunningham before the 5th century B. C. Many of the Buddhist caves like those of Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri in Orissa were anterior to the invasion of India by Alexander the Great (326 B. C.) The Dāgobas or topes were another class of monuments erected in the cemeteries.<sup>2861</sup> "The solid dome erected by the Sākiyas over their share of the ashes must have been about the same height as the dome of St. Paul measured from the roof."<sup>2862</sup> Indeed much light is thrown on the fine masonry work of this period by the discovery in 1898 on the Nepal frontier of the Piprawa stupa about which Mr. V. A. Smith rightly observes "The construction and contents of the stupa offer valuable testimony concerning the state of civilisation in Northern India about 450 B. C. which is quite in accordance with that elicited from early literary sources."<sup>2863</sup>

**Sculpture**—The sculptor (Kundakāra)<sup>2864</sup> worked in wood, gold, coral and stone. The vivid description of the life-like images of many birds and beasts sculptured on the Vaijayanta chariot<sup>2865</sup> may be a poet's imagination but the image of Buddha made of red sandalwood which Ghoṣila, minister of king Udayana of the Vatsa country, a contemporary of Buddha caused to be made existed down to the time of Hiuen Tsang who saw it during his visit to Kauśāmyi.<sup>2866</sup> In the Aśātamantra Jātaka<sup>2867</sup> an ācārya of Taxila is said to have produced out of udumvara wood a life-like image of his own self.

<sup>2858</sup> V. 3. 96—100.

<sup>2859</sup> I 7. 10.

<sup>2860</sup> IV. 12. 15.

<sup>2861</sup> Vinaya texts, IV. p. 308.

<sup>2862</sup> Rhys Davids.

<sup>2863</sup> Imperial Gazetteer of India (new edition), Vol. II. p. 102.

<sup>2864</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).

<sup>2865</sup> Sudhābhajana Jātaka (No. 535).

<sup>2866</sup> Beal—Buddhist Records of the Western world, Vol I. p. 235.

<sup>2867</sup> No. 61.

In the Jātakas<sup>2868</sup> we also read of a prince who agreed to marry only when a girl like the image of gold which he caused to be prepared could be found out. In the Kuśa Jātaka<sup>2869</sup> we are told that the golden image of a princess which was made by prince Kuśa was far superior to the one prepared by the royal sculptor.<sup>2870</sup> A life-like image of a lady and images of elephants made of gold as dolls for children<sup>2871</sup> are also mentioned.

A stone-image of Bodhisattva as elephant<sup>2872</sup> and images of hares made of coral<sup>2873</sup> were also known.

**Painting**—Painting was well-known and the painters were organised into a guild.<sup>2874</sup> The life-like paintings of elephants, horses, chariots and various objects of natural scenery on the walls of the underground palace described in the Mahāunmārga Jātaka<sup>2875</sup> may be a poet's imagination but when we find that Buddha prohibited the use of love-scenes painted in frescoes but permitted the representations of wreaths, creepers, fine ribbon and dragon's teeth in fresco-painting<sup>2876</sup> we may safely expect at least a sub-stratum of truth in the poetic exaggeration. Painted punkhas<sup>2877</sup> and a picture-gallery (chittāgāra) belonging to king Pasenadi of Kośala<sup>2878</sup> are also mentioned.

**The occupations**—The pursuit of agriculture in this period was associated neither with social prestige nor with social stigma. The stricter Brahmin tradition not only in the law-books but also in the Suttanipāṭa, the Majjhima Nikāya and the Jātakas expressly reserves the two callings of agriculture and trade for the vaiśyas and judges them unfit for the brahmins and the kṣatriyas. Thus, the brahmin Esukari of Śrāvastī considers tillage and dairy-farming as not less the property and province of the vaiśya than are bow and arrow, endowed maintenance (by alms)

<sup>2868</sup> Ananūsōhaniya Jātaka (No. 328) ;  
Udaya (No. 458).

<sup>2869</sup> No. 531.

<sup>2870</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).

<sup>2871</sup> Mūkapāṅgu Jātaka (No. 538).

<sup>2872</sup> Mātripoṣaka Jātaka (No. 455).

<sup>2873</sup> Ghaṭa Jātaka (No. 454).

<sup>2874</sup> Jātaka VI. 427.

<sup>2875</sup> No. 546.

<sup>2876</sup> Vinaya texts, Vol. II. p. 67 ; Vol. IV. p. 74.

<sup>2877</sup> Kuśa Jātaka (No. 531).

<sup>2878</sup> Rhys Davids—Buddhist India, p. 68.



and sickle and yoke, the property and province of the kṣatriyas, brahmins and working classes respectively.<sup>2879</sup> The Vāseṭṭha sutta<sup>2880</sup> reveals the same exclusive spirit as correct. And in the Daśa-brāhmaṇa Jātaka<sup>2881</sup> brahmins who engage themselves in tillage and other callings are declared to have fallen from brahminhood. On the other hand in both the Jātakas<sup>2882</sup> and the Suttas<sup>2883</sup> not only are brahmins frequently found pursuing tillage but also no reflection is passed upon them for so doing, nay the brahmin farmer at times, is a pious man and a Bodhisattva to boot.<sup>2884</sup> Dr. Fick is disposed to think that the Udicca brahmins<sup>2885</sup> of the north-west inherited a stricter standard.<sup>2886</sup> Nevertheless it is not claimed for the pious ones just mentioned living near Benares and in Magadha that they were Udicca brahmins. As to the kṣatriya clansmen of the tribal republics, they were largely cultivators of the soil. For instance in the Kuṇḍala Jātaka<sup>2887</sup> it was the Śākiyan and Koliyan peasants who began to quarrel over the prior turn to irrigate.

But agriculture though it remained the principal occupation of the mass of the population lost its attraction for the more arduous spirits who began to crowd into cities lured by the finery of city-life, by the chances of greater income by trade or employment and by other facilities. The diversity of occupations that sprang up in the Brāhmaṇa period became more pronounced in this epoch as is evident from the large number of functional groups.

<sup>2879</sup> M. II. 180.

<sup>2880</sup> M. No. 98 ; S. N. III. 9.

<sup>2881</sup> No. 495.

<sup>2882</sup> Somadatta Jātaka (No. 211) ; Uraga (No. 354) ; Suvarṇakarkata (No. 389) ; Mahākapi (No. 516).

<sup>2883</sup> Brahmin peasant Varadwāja in Suttanipāta.

<sup>2884</sup> Uraga Jātaka (No. 354).

<sup>2885</sup> Satyaṃkila (No. 73) ; Mahāsvapna (No. 77) ; Bhīmasena (No. 80) ;

Surāpāna (No. 81) ; Mangala (No. 87) ; Parasahasra (No. 99) ; Tittira (No. 117) ; Akālarāvi (No. 119) ; Āmra (No. 124) ; Lānguṣṭha (No. 144) ; Ekaparṇa (No. 149) ; Śata-dharmā (No. 179) ; Śvetaketu (No. 377) ; Nalinikā (No. 526) ; Mahāvodhi (No. 528).

<sup>2886</sup> Sociale Gliederang Indien, 138 f.

<sup>2887</sup> No. 536.

Among those who embraced learned professions we find (1) *ācāryas* (teachers)<sup>2888</sup> some of whom taught the children of villagers and were maintained by them; <sup>2889</sup> while others imparted higher instruction in reputed centres of learning like Benares and Taxila in the three Vedas and the conventional eighteen *śilpas*<sup>2890</sup> and were paid either in advance by rich students<sup>2891</sup> or after the completion of studies by poor students who collected their tuition fees by begging<sup>2892</sup> (2) *vejjas* (physicians) some of whom obtained a fee of 16,000 pieces by curing a merchant-prince's wife<sup>2893</sup> (3) *viśavaidyas* (curers of poisonous bites).<sup>2894</sup> Then there was the army of (4) astrologers<sup>2895</sup> (5) soothsayers<sup>2896</sup> (6) *nimittapāṭhakas* (omen-readers)<sup>2897</sup> (7) *angavidyāpāṭhakas* (those who can read the physical features of men and women)<sup>2898</sup> (8) magicians (*māyakāra*, *māyāvī* or *aindrjālika*)<sup>2899</sup> who came to be condemned by the Buddha as they preyed on the ignorance of the ordinary people. There were also besides the usual *hotṛ*, *adhvaryu* and *udgītṛ* various other classes of priests like those who officiated at the Ahina sacrifices,<sup>2900</sup> the *sadasya*,<sup>2901</sup> the *samitri* and the *kāmasādhvaryavah*.<sup>2902</sup>

Besides the cultivator we find others who followed occupations allied to agriculture like the *parṇika* (grower of green vegetables only),<sup>2903</sup> *trṇa-*

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| <p><sup>2888</sup> <i>Varuṇa</i> (No. 71); <i>Lānguliṣa</i> (No. 123); <i>Upānaha</i> (No. 231); <i>Guptila</i> (No. 243); <i>Tilamuṣṭhi</i> (No. 252); <i>Tūṣa</i> (No. 338); <i>Tittira</i> (No. 438).</p> <p><sup>2889</sup> <i>Lośaka</i> (No. 41); <i>Takka</i> (No. 63).</p> <p><sup>2890</sup> <i>Bhīmasena</i> (No. 80); <i>Durmedhā</i> (No. 122); <i>Asadrśa</i> (No. 181); etc.</p> <p><sup>2891</sup> <i>Susīma</i> (No. 163); <i>Tilamuṣṭhi</i> (No. 252).</p> <p><sup>2892</sup> <i>Dyūta</i> (No. 478).</p> <p><sup>2893</sup> <i>Vinaya</i> I. 272.</p> <p><sup>2894</sup> <i>Viśavānta</i> (No. 69); <i>Bhūridatta</i> (No. 543).</p> <p><sup>2895</sup> <i>Brahmajāla Sutta</i>; <i>Nakṣatra Jātaka</i> (No. 49).</p> | <p><sup>2896</sup> <i>Ibid</i>.</p> <p><sup>2897</sup> <i>Ibid</i>; <i>Mangala Jātaka</i> (No. 87); <i>Mahāmangala</i> (No. 453); <i>Garga</i> (No. 155).</p> <p><sup>2898</sup> <i>Pañchāudha</i> (No. 55); <i>Alinachitta</i> (No. 156); <i>Nanāchhanda</i> (No. 289).</p> <p><sup>2899</sup> <i>Vidura-pāṇḍita</i> (No. 545); <i>Viśwan-tara</i> (No. 547); cf. <i>Daśāraṇa</i> (No. 401); <i>Āmra</i> (No. 474).</p> <p><sup>2900</sup> <i>Sranta Sūtra</i>, IV. 1. 6. 7.</p> <p><sup>2901</sup> <i>Indische Studien</i>, X. 136, 144.</p> <p><sup>2902</sup> Max Mullers' <i>A. S. L.</i>, pp. 450, 469 seq.</p> <p><sup>2903</sup> <i>Kuddāla Jātaka</i> (No. 70); <i>Parṇika</i> (No. 102).</p> |
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hāraka (grass cutter),<sup>2904</sup> gopāla (cowherd),<sup>2905</sup> ajapāla (goatherd),<sup>2906</sup> aśvapālaka<sup>2907</sup> or aśvanivandhika<sup>2908</sup> (horsegroom) and hastipālaka (elephantkeeper).<sup>2909</sup>

Of those engaged in the various arts the more important are :—(1) peśākāra (weaver)<sup>2910</sup> (2) karmīra (smith)<sup>2911</sup> (3) maṇikīra (jeweller)<sup>2912</sup> (4) vardhaki (carpenter)<sup>2913</sup> (5) iṣṭaka-var dhakī (mason)<sup>2914</sup> (6) kundakara (sculptor)<sup>2915</sup> (7) rathakāra (chariot-maker)<sup>2916</sup> (8) kumbhakāra (potter)<sup>2917</sup> (9) carmakāra (tanner and leather-worker)<sup>2918</sup> (10) nalakāra (worker in reeds)<sup>2919</sup> (11) śoṇḍika (wine-distiller)<sup>2920</sup> (12) dantakāra (ivory-worker)<sup>2921</sup> (13) loṇakāra (salt manufacturer)<sup>2922</sup> (14) pāsānakūṭṭaka (stone-cutter)<sup>2923</sup> (15) sthapati (architect)<sup>2924</sup> and (16) citrakāra (painter).<sup>2925</sup>

Among those who followed non-industrial occupations we find : (1) fishermen<sup>2926</sup> (2) poultry-farmer (vartakavyādha or śākunika)<sup>2927</sup> (3) niṣāda (butcher and hunter)<sup>2928</sup> (4) barber,<sup>2929</sup> (5) washerman (nirṇejaka)<sup>2930</sup>

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| <sup>2904</sup> Chullakāśreṣṭhī (No. 4); Viśahya (No. 340).                           | <sup>2917</sup> Ibid.  |
| <sup>2905</sup> Surāpāna (No. 81); Ekaparṇa (No. 149).                                | <sup>2918</sup> Ibid; Mahāunmārga (No. 546).   |
| <sup>2906</sup> Dhūmakāri (N. 413).   | <sup>2919</sup> Ibid.; Grāmaṇīchanda; (No. 257); Kuśa (No. 531).                                 |
| <sup>2907</sup> Tīrtha (No. 25); Surāpāna (No. 81); Ekaparṇa (No. 149).               | <sup>2920</sup> Vāruṇi (No. 47).   |
| <sup>2908</sup> Giridanta (No. 184).  | <sup>2921</sup> Kāśāya (No. 221); Śīlavannāga (No. 72).  |
| <sup>2909</sup> Mahilāmukha (No. 26); Ekaparṇa; (No. 149).                            | <sup>2922</sup> Kauśāmyi (No. 428).  |
| <sup>2910</sup> Suttavibhanga.  | <sup>2923</sup> Vabhra (No. 137).  |
| <sup>2911</sup> Kuśa Jātaka (No. 531); Mahāunmārga (No. 546).                         | <sup>2924</sup> Kuru (No. 213).  |
| <sup>2912</sup> Vidurapaṇḍita Jātaka (No. 545); Kunāla (No. 536).                     | <sup>2925</sup> Mahāunmārga (No. 546).   |
| <sup>2913</sup> Anīlachitta (No. 156); Samudravāpij (No. 466); Mahāunmārga (No. 546). | <sup>2926</sup> Ubhatobharaṣṭa (No. 139).  |
| <sup>2914</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).   | <sup>2927</sup> Vartaka (No. 118); Tittira (No. 319).  |
| <sup>2915</sup> Ibid.   | <sup>2928</sup> Mayūra (No. 159); Rohantamṛga (No. 501); Śyāma (No. 540); Khullahaṃsa (No. 533). |
| <sup>2916</sup> Suttavibhanga.  | <sup>2929</sup> Mahākedāra (No. 9); Śīgāla (No. 152).  |
|   | <sup>2930</sup> Ghaṭa (No. 454); Vidurapaṇḍita (No. 545).  |

(6) sweeper (pupph-chhaddak)<sup>2931</sup> (7) tailor (tunnavaṇṇa)<sup>2932</sup> (8) ferryman (tirthanāvika)<sup>2933</sup> (9) pilot (jalaniyāmaka)<sup>2934</sup> (10) land-pilot (sthala-niyāmaka)<sup>2935</sup> (11) forest-guard (atavī-pāla)<sup>2936</sup> (12) gardener (udyaṇa-pālaka)<sup>2937</sup> (13) garland-maker (mālā-kāra)<sup>2938</sup> (14) confectioner (modaka)<sup>2939</sup> (15) bhūtavaidya (conjurer of evil spirits)<sup>2940</sup> and (16) performer of spells.<sup>2941</sup>

Among those who performed menial work we find (1) cook (pāchaka)<sup>2942</sup> (2) boy-servant<sup>2943</sup> (3) attendant<sup>2944</sup> (4) bath-attendant (snāpaka)<sup>2945</sup> and shampooer (saṃvāhaka) [D. 1. 51].

In addition to these there were others who earned their living by amusing the public. Such were (1) the musician<sup>2946</sup> (2) trumpet-blower (bherivādaka)<sup>2947</sup> (3) blower of conchshells (saṃkhavādaka)<sup>2948</sup> (4) blower of an instrument called mandraka<sup>2949</sup> (5) actor (nāṭa)<sup>2950</sup> (6) wrestler (malla)<sup>2951</sup> (7) snake-charmer (ahitundika)<sup>2952</sup> and clown (soviya = souvika).<sup>2953</sup>

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| <sup>2931</sup> Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).   | <sup>2942</sup> Kapota Jātaka (No. 42); Lola (No. 274); Vidurapandita (No. 545).                                     |
| <sup>2932</sup> Nyagrodha Jātaka (No. 445); Mahāunmārga (No. 543).   | <sup>2943</sup> Vappupatha Jātaka (No. 2); Bhīmasena (No. 80); Vālodaka (No. 183).                                   |
| <sup>2933</sup> Avārya Jātaka (No. 376).   | <sup>2944</sup> Chullakaśreṣṭhī Jātaka (No. 4).  |
| <sup>2934</sup> Supāraka Jātaka (No. 433).   | <sup>2945</sup> Khaṇḍahāla (No. 542).  |
| <sup>2935</sup> Vappupatha Jātaka (No. 2).   | <sup>2946</sup> Vidurapandita Jātaka (No. 545); Viśwantara (No. 547).  |
| <sup>2936</sup> Daśabrāhmaṇa (No. 495); Vappupatha (No. 2); Jayaddisa (No. 513).   | <sup>2947</sup> Bherivādaka Jātaka (No. 59).   |
| <sup>2937</sup> Vātamārga Jātaka (No. 14); Paṭa-dūṣaka (No. 280).  | <sup>2948</sup> Saṅkha-dharma Jātaka (No. 60).   |
| <sup>2938</sup> Kulmāṣapiṇḍa Jātaka (No. 414); Vidurapandita (No. 545).  | <sup>2949</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).   |
| <sup>2939</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).   | <sup>2950</sup> Uchebhiṣṭa Jātaka (No. 212); Vidurapandita (No. 545); Pāṇini IV. 3. 110, 129.                        |
| <sup>2940</sup> Kāmanīta Jātaka (No. 228).   | <sup>2951</sup> Vālodaka (No. 183); Ghāṭa (No. 454). cf. <i>Muttika</i> = <i>muṣṭika</i> in Vidurapandita (No. 545). |
| <sup>2941</sup> Brahmajāla Sutta; Vedavbha Jātaka (No. 48); Sarvadamāstrā (No. 241); Vihachchhatra (No. 336); Kharaputra (No. 386); Parantapa (No. 416). | <sup>2952</sup> Sīlamāṃsā (No. 86); Ahitundika (No. 265); Chāmpēya (No. 506).  |
|  | <sup>2953</sup> Vidurapandita Jātaka (No. 545).  |

We know further that with the growth of the state there arose a class of people who lived by accepting service under the king. Prominent among these were the royal high-priest,<sup>2954</sup> arthadharmānuśāsaka,<sup>2955</sup> sarvārthachintaka,<sup>2956</sup> viniśchayāmātya (judge),<sup>2957</sup> arghakāraka (court-valuer),<sup>2958</sup> rajjuka (surveyor)<sup>2959</sup> dṛoṇamīpaka (measurer of corn),<sup>2960</sup> valipratigrāhaka (tax-collector),<sup>2961</sup> nagarapāla,<sup>2962</sup> hirannyaka (cashier or officer of the treasury)<sup>2963</sup> etc.

**Guilds**—We have seen that in an earlier period some of the functional groups came to be organised into guilds ; but it was during this period that the guilds came to play a prominent part in the various aspects of social life. The Mūkapangu<sup>2964</sup> and Mahāunmārga Jātakas<sup>2965</sup> refer to the conventional number of eighteen guilds but it is to be regretted that only four of them viz., those of wood-workers, smiths, leather-dressers and painters are specially mentioned.<sup>2966</sup> On the evidence of the Jātakas and the law books of the period we get however the names of the following guilds :—(1) wood-workers<sup>2967</sup> (2) smiths<sup>2968</sup> (3) leather-dressers<sup>2969</sup> (4) painters<sup>2970</sup> (5) garland-makers<sup>2971</sup> (6) caravan-traders<sup>2972</sup> (7) herdsmen<sup>2973</sup> (8) moneylenders<sup>2974</sup> (9) cultivators<sup>2975</sup> (10) traders<sup>2976</sup>

<sup>2954</sup> Mahāsvapna (No. 77) ; Sūsīma (No. 163) ; Tilamūṭṭhi (No. 252) ; Śavaka (No. 309) ; Vandhanamokṣa (No. 120) ; Andhabhūta (No. 62) ; Kurudharma (No. 276) ; Nānāchhanda (No. 289) ; Rathalaṭṭhi (No. 332) ; Hastipāla (No. 509) ; Sūsīma (No. 411) ; Chedi (No. 422) ; Kimchhanda (No. 511).

<sup>2955</sup> Tīrtha (No. 25) ; Khaṇḍahāla (No. 542) ; Kūṭavāṇija (No. 218).

<sup>2956</sup> Suhann Jātaka (No. 158).

<sup>2957</sup> Khaṇḍhāla Jātaka (No. 542) ; Kūṭavāṇija (No. 218).

<sup>2958</sup> Tandulanālī (No. 5) ; Suhann (No. 158) ; Nemi (No. 541). Palms of the Brethern, 25, 212.

<sup>2959</sup> Kurudharma (No. 276).

<sup>2960</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2961</sup> Gapdatindu (No. 520). Garga (No. 155).

<sup>2962</sup> Kaṇṭivera Jātaka (No. 318).

<sup>2963</sup> Śīlamimāṃsā Jātaka (No. 86).

<sup>2964</sup> No. 538.

<sup>2965</sup> No. 545.

<sup>2966</sup> "Vaddhaki-kammāra-chammakāra-chittakārādīnānāsippa-kusalā."

<sup>2967</sup> Samudravāṇij Jātaka (No. 466) ; Mahāunmārga (No. 546).

<sup>2968</sup> Sūchī Jātaka (No. 387) ; kuśa (No. 531) ; Mahāunmārga (No. 546).

<sup>2969</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).

<sup>2970</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2971</sup> Kulmāṣapīṇḍa Jātaka (No. 415).

<sup>2972</sup> Jarudapāna Jātaka (No. 256).

<sup>2973</sup> Gautama XI. 21.

<sup>2974</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2975</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2976</sup> Ibid.

and (11) pilots.<sup>2977</sup> Similarly, the moss-troopers numbering 500 of a little robber village near the hills of Uttara Pāñchāla<sup>2978</sup> and the forest-police who escorted the travellers<sup>2979</sup> were organised under a Jeṭṭaka. These craftguilds had three characteristics : (1) an alderman at the head (2) heredity of profession and (3) localisation of industry. The position of the alderman of the guild is indicated in the Sūchi Jātaka<sup>2980</sup> where he is a great favourite of the king (rājavallabha) and in the Uraga jātaka<sup>2981</sup> where he is an important minister of the king (of Kośala). These heads of guilds were called pamukkha (chief or president) and also jeṭṭaka (elder, alderman), distinction between these two words being not apparent. In the Anguttara Nikāya we find the word pūga-gāmaṇika which means leader of a guild. There is one instance of all the guilds having a common chief who was also lord of the treasury of the kingdom of Kāśī.<sup>2982</sup> The centralisation in this case was perhaps due to quarrels between the foremen of the subordinate guilds such as those of Śrāsvasti.<sup>2983</sup>

The necessity for interdependence among people following a particular profession or craft led them to live together in a particular locality. We thus find villages inhabited solely by fowlers,<sup>2984</sup> chandālas,<sup>2985</sup> brahmins,<sup>2986</sup> robbers,<sup>2987</sup> hunters,<sup>2988</sup> carpenters<sup>2989</sup> and smiths.<sup>2990</sup> This localisation of industry was also due, as we have already seen, to the policy of segregation adopted by the higher castes or the king with regard to the people following the hinasippa's and partly to the nearness of the market for their labour or product of their labour as the case may be. For these very reasons people following a particular profession or craft came to live together in special wards of the city. Thus we find the

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| 2977 | Supāraga Jātaka (No. 463).                                      | 2985 | Āmra Jātaka (No. 474) ; Mātanga (No. 497) ; Chittasambhūta (No. 498). |
| 2978 | Jātaka I. 296 ; 297 ; II. 368 ; IV. 335.                        | 2986 | Kurudharma Jātaka (No. 276) ; Suvarṇa-kakkata (No. 389).              |
| 2979 | Jātaka II. 335.   | 2987 | Śaktigulma (No. 507).   |
| 2980 | No. 387.  | 2988 | Mayūra Jātaka (No. 159) ; Rohanta-mṛga (No. 501) ; Śyāma (No. 540).   |
| 2981 | No. 154.  | 2989 | Alinachitta Jātaka (No. 156) ; Phandana (No. 475).                    |
| 2982 | Nyagrodha Jātaka (No. 445).                                     | 2990 | Sūchi Jātaka (No. 387).   |
| 2983 | Śreṇī-bhandana in Uraga (No. 154) and Nakula (No. 165) Jātakas. |      |   |
| 2984 | Khullabhaṃsa Jātaka (No. 533).                                  |      |   |

ivory-workers' bazar,<sup>2991</sup> the weavers' ward<sup>2992</sup> and the vaiśya ward<sup>2993</sup> of Benares and florists' quarter<sup>2994</sup> and cooks' quarter<sup>2995</sup> in Śrāvastī. Similarly in the Uvāsagadasao we are told that the kṣatriya quarter of Veśālī was different from that of the brahmins.

Combined with this widespread corporate regulation of industrial life there was a general but by no means cast iron custom for the son to follow the calling of his father. Not only individuals but also families are frequently mentioned in terms of their traditional calling. Thus Sāti the fisherman's son is Sāti, the fisherman; Chunda the smith is called Chunda the smithson.<sup>2996</sup> Āpastamva<sup>2997</sup> says "In successive births men of the lower castes are born in the next higher ones if they have fulfilled their duties." Gautama<sup>2998</sup> says "Men of the several castes and orders who live according to their caste duties enjoy after death the rewards of their work." Āpastamva<sup>2999</sup> says "In successive births men of the higher castes are born in the next lower ones if they neglect their duties. Āpastamva<sup>3000</sup> enjoins the king to punish those who have transgressed the caste laws.<sup>3001</sup> Gautama<sup>3002</sup> authorises the king to punish such transgressors of caste laws.

The functions of these guilds were legislative, judicial and executive. The Vinaya Piṭaka lays down that a thief should not be ordained as a nun without the sanction of the guilds.<sup>3003</sup> From the Vinaya Piṭaka<sup>3004</sup> we further learn that the guilds had the function of arbitrators to settle differences between members and their wives. And Gautama<sup>3005</sup> lays down that they have legislative functions, for, he refers to the validity of the laws and customs established by guilds.

<sup>2991</sup> Śīlavannāga Jātaka (No. 72); Kaṣāya (No. 221).

<sup>2992</sup> Bhīmasena Jātaka (No. 80).

<sup>2993</sup> Viśvantara Jātaka (No. 547).

<sup>2994</sup> Padma Jātaka (No. 261).

<sup>2995</sup> Māmsa Jātaka (No. 315).

<sup>2996</sup> M. I. 256; D. II. 127 f; Jātaka I. 98, 194, 312; II. 79; cf. niṣādo = luddaputto = luddo; Jātaka III. 330 f.; V. 356—8.

<sup>2997</sup> II. 2—3; 10—11.

<sup>2998</sup> XI. 29.

<sup>2999</sup> II. 11. 11.

<sup>3000</sup> II. 10. 12—16.

<sup>3001</sup> Cf. Āpastamva II. 27. 18.

<sup>3002</sup> XI. 31.

<sup>3003</sup> Rājānaṃ vā saṃghaṃ vā gaṇaṃ vā pūgaṃ vā śreṇiṃ vā anapaloketa-vyā.

<sup>3004</sup> IV. 226.

<sup>3005</sup> XI. 21.

The learner or apprentice (antevāsika, lit. the boarder) appears frequently in Buddhist books, one of which indicates the relative position of pupil and master woodwright.<sup>3006</sup> In the Mahāvagga<sup>3007</sup> the Buddha says "The ācārya, O Bhikkhus, ought to consider the antevāsika as a son ; the antevāsika ought to consider the ācārya as a father. Thus these two, united by mutual reverence, confidence and communion of life will progress, advance and reach a high stage in the doctrine and discipline. The Vinaya Piṭaka also gives elaborate rules regarding the duties of the of the pupil towards his teacher and vice versa and also rules regulating the relation between teacher and pupil and the conditions determining its admissibility or cessation. But these relate to the education in the sacred lore, religion and humanities and not to training in the crafts with which we are concerned. The apprentice in the industrial sense indeed appears frequently in the Jātakas though no conditions of pupilage are given. Thus in the Kuśa Jātaka<sup>3008</sup> a prince apprentices himself to a potter, basket-maker, florist etc., in succession. The senior pupil also acts as assistant master (prsthācārya).<sup>3009</sup> We have also instances of fees being paid by apprentices to teachers.<sup>3010</sup> But the conditions of pupilage, though not given in the Buddhist books are roughly foreshadowed by Gautama<sup>3011</sup> who says "The apprentice may forsake his master either of his own motion (in which case he is liable to correction) or under instructions from his kinsmen who consented to his pupilage. In the latter case the deserted master can sue the pupil's guardians for a breach of contract."<sup>3012</sup> But a contract cannot be onesided. Hence Kātyāyana who flourished in the third century B. C.<sup>3013</sup> fixed a penalty upon the teacher for employing the apprentice in other work. "He who does not instruct the pupil in the art and causes him to perform other work shall incur the first amercement and the pupil may forsake him and go to another teacher, released from the indenture."<sup>3014</sup>

<sup>3006</sup> Atthasālinī, p. 111 ; Jāt. I. 251 ;  
V. 290 f.

<sup>3007</sup> I. 32. 1.

<sup>3008</sup> No. 531.

<sup>3009</sup> Anabbhirati Jātaka (No. 185) ; Mahā-  
śrutasaṃma (No. 537).

<sup>3010</sup> Suśīma Jātaka No. 163) ; Tilamuṣṭhi

(No. 252) ; cf. Dyūta (No. 478).

<sup>3011</sup> II. 43—44.

<sup>3012</sup> Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law,  
Vol. II. p. 8.

<sup>3013</sup> Macdonell—History of Sanskrit  
Literature.

<sup>3014</sup> Ibid., Vol. II. p. 7.



Another interesting fact to be noticed is that though normally the crafts were organised on a hereditary basis and technical talent descended from father to son and was confined to particular family yet the way was still open to exceptions to that rule. Spiritual ministrations were the work of the brahmins and administration that of the kṣatriyas and brahmins though some share of it was being appropriated by the vaiśyas as in the case of the office of the king's treasurer<sup>3015</sup> with which was coupled the judgeship of the guilds. But these distinctions did not hold good in the economic sphere where all castes seemed to have stood together. In the Daśabrahmaṇa Jātaka<sup>3016</sup> brahmins who followed the professions of a physician, charioteer, agriculturist, meat-seller, caravan-guard, hunter, dealer in fruits, ornaments etc., are condemned proving thereby, though indirectly, that some brahmins followed these occupations. In the Bhūridatta Jātaka<sup>3017</sup> we read "If the four-fold caste system was true then why do people other than kṣatriyas conquer kingdoms, why do non-brahmins become proficient in the Vedic mantras, why do non-vaiśyas carry on agriculture, why do not śūdras serve the twice-born castes? Indeed the choice of occupations was quite free. Thus in the Vinaya Piṭaka<sup>3018</sup> we find parents discussing the best profession which their wards might choose without a reference being made to the father's trades. In the Chullavagga<sup>3019</sup> the monks are allowed the use of a loom and of shuttles, strings, tickets and all the apparatus belonging to a loom. We also read of brahmins as physicians,<sup>3020</sup> goatherds,<sup>3021</sup> merchants,<sup>3022</sup> hunters,<sup>3023</sup> snake-charmers,<sup>3024</sup> archers,<sup>3025</sup> robbers,<sup>3026</sup> cart-wrights,<sup>3027</sup> agriculturists,<sup>3028</sup> caravan-guard,<sup>3029</sup> hawkers,<sup>3030</sup> and even low caste trappers.<sup>3031</sup>

<sup>3015</sup> Nyagrodha Jātaka (No. 445).

<sup>3016</sup> No. 495.

<sup>3017</sup> No. 543.

<sup>3018</sup> I. 77 ; IV. 128.

<sup>3019</sup> V. 28.

<sup>3020</sup> Daśabrahmaṇa Jātaka (No. 543).

<sup>3021</sup> Dūmakāri Jātaka (No. 413) ; Daśa-brāhmaṇa (No. 543).

<sup>3022</sup> Daśabrahmaṇa Jātaka (No. 543).

<sup>3023</sup> Chullanandika Jātaka (No. 222) ; Indriya (No. 423).

<sup>3024</sup> Chāmpaya Jātaka (No. 506).

<sup>3025</sup> Śarabhanga Jātaka (No. 522).

<sup>3026</sup> Mahākṛṣṇa Jātaka (No. 469).

<sup>3027</sup> Spandana Jātaka (No. 475).

<sup>3028</sup> Somadatta Jātaka (No. 211) ; Uraga (No. 354) ; Suvarṇakarkata (No. 389) ; Mahākapi (No. 516) ; cf. the Brahmin peasant Bharadwāja in Sutta Nipāta.

<sup>3029</sup> Daśabrahmaṇa Jātaka (No. 495).

<sup>3030</sup> Garga Jātaka (No. 155).

<sup>3031</sup> Daśabrahmaṇa Jātaka (No. 495).

In the Kuśa Jātaka<sup>3032</sup> a prince in his infatuation for a girl apprentices himself *incognito* in succession to the potter, basket-maker, florist and cook to his father-in-law, without a word being said as to his social degradation when these vagaries became known. Similarly a prince takes to trade<sup>3033</sup> while another resigning his kingdom goes to the frontier where he dwells "with a rich merchant's family, working with his own hands."<sup>3034</sup> We also read of a prince who only consents to marry when a princess is found exactly like a golden image which he himself had fashioned and which was far superior to that made by the chief smith employed for the purpose.<sup>3035</sup> The Śankha Jātaka<sup>3036</sup> speaks of a Brahmin who takes to trade to be better able to afford charitable gifts. Brahmins engaged personally in trading without such pretext are also mentioned.<sup>3037</sup> Again we hear of a deer-trapper becoming the protege and then the inseparable friend of a rich young śreṣṭhī without a hint at social barriers;<sup>3038</sup> a weaver looking on his handicraft as a mere makeshift and changing it offhand for that of an archer<sup>3039</sup>; a pious farmer and his son with equally little ado turning to the low trade of rush-weaving<sup>3040</sup>; a young man of good family, but penniless, starting on his career by selling a dead mouse for cat's meat at a farthing, turning his capital and hands to every variety of job and finally buying up a ship's cargo with his signet-ring as security and winning both a high profit in his transactions and the hand of a śreṣṭhī's daughter. "This freedom of initiative and mobility in trade and labour finds further exemplification in the enterprise of a settlement of wood-workers."<sup>3041</sup> Failing to carry out the orders for which prepayment had been made, they were summoned to fulfil the contract. But they instead of 'abiding in their lot' as General Walker the Economist<sup>3042</sup> said of their descendants 'with Oriental stoicism and fatalism' made a mighty ship secretly and emigrated with their families, slipping down the Ganges by night and so out to sea till they reached a fertile island.

<sup>3032</sup> No. 531.

<sup>3033</sup> Jāt. IV. 184.

<sup>3034</sup> Jāt. IV. 169.

<sup>3035</sup> Kuśa Jātaka (No. 531).

<sup>3036</sup> No. 442.

<sup>3037</sup> Jātaka V. 22, 471.

<sup>3038</sup> Jātaka III. 49 ff.

<sup>3039</sup> Jātaka II. 87.

<sup>3040</sup> Jātaka IV. 318.

<sup>3041</sup> Jātaka IV. 159.

<sup>3042</sup> The Wages Question p. 171.

Stories all these, not history ; nevertheless they serve to show that in these times the division of caste was not quite rigid and was no bar to the mobility of labour, both vertical and horizontal."<sup>3043</sup> Indeed social divisions and economic occupations were very far from coinciding. The fact that brahmins claimed credit if born of brahmins on both sides for generations back<sup>3044</sup> betrays the existence of many born from a less pure connubium. In the Kuśa Jātaka<sup>3045</sup> a Brahmin takes to wife the childless chief wife of a king without losing caste thereby. Elsewhere in the Jātakas princes, brahmins, śreṣṭhī's and even low castes are shown forming friendships, sending their sons to the same teachers and even eating together and intermarrying without any social stigma.<sup>3046</sup> Even in Āpastamba sūtra<sup>3047</sup> we find that a Śūdra can become a Brahmin and a Brahmin a Śūdra according to their good or bad deeds. Pāṇini<sup>3048</sup> mentions a celebrated grammarian Chakravarman who was a kṣatriya by birth. All these evidences go to show that the dignity of labour was recognised though there were certain notable exceptions. Thus the Suttavibhanga<sup>3049</sup> mentions certain low castes and certain low crafts. As instances of low castes are mentioned the Veṇa who according to Manu lived by beating drums etc., and whose prototype we find in the Bherivāda<sup>3050</sup> and Śankhadhma<sup>3051</sup> Jātakas ; the Niṣādas (hunters or trappers), Pukkasa<sup>3052</sup> whose occupation is said to be that of throwing away dead flowers<sup>3053</sup> and the Chāṇḍālas who are called the meanest men on earth<sup>3054</sup> who lived apart in their own settlements<sup>3055</sup> by hunting and were sometimes employed for street-sweeping<sup>3056</sup> and policing towns by night.<sup>3057</sup> The

<sup>3043</sup> Rapson—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.

<sup>3044</sup> D. I. 93 ; M. II. 156.

<sup>3045</sup> No. 531 ( = Jātaka V. 280).

<sup>3046</sup> Jātaka II. 319 f ; III. 9—10 ; VI. 422 ; Jātaka I. 421, 422.

<sup>3047</sup> II. 5—10.

<sup>3048</sup> VI. 1. 130.

<sup>3049</sup> Vinaya Piṭaka IV. 6—10.

<sup>3050</sup> No. 59.

<sup>3051</sup> No. 60.

<sup>3052</sup> According to Maun the pikkasa was the son of a chāṇḍāla by a śūdra female. He lived by hunting animals like iguana, porcupine etc., which live in holes.

<sup>3053</sup> Jātaka IV. 205.

<sup>3054</sup> Jātaka IV. 397.

<sup>3055</sup> Āmra, Mātanga and Chittasambhūta Jātakas (Nos. 474, 497 and 498 respectively).

<sup>3056</sup> Jātaka IV. 390.

<sup>3057</sup> Jātaka III. 30.

sight of a *chandāla* we are further told forebodes evil<sup>3058</sup>; contact with the air that touches his body is pollution<sup>3059</sup>; partaking of his food even without knowledge leads to social ostracism<sup>3060</sup> and even food seen by him is not to be taken.<sup>3061</sup> As examples of low crafts are mentioned those of the *nalakāra* (worker in grass and reeds) *kumbhakāra* (potter), *pesakāra* (weaver), *charnakāra* (leather-worker) and *nīpita* (barber). It should, however, be noted that the social stigma resting on these low trades was due sometimes to their very nature (as in the case of the butcher and the tanner) but chiefly to their association with the aboriginal non-Aryan tribes who followed them. Yet other despised callings were the black arts, explanation of signs, omens, auguries, dreams, foretelling events etc.<sup>3062</sup> *Jātaka* VI. 191 refers to the popular belief that even *Nāgas* do not dance for shame before actors. *Jātaka* II. 82 refers to Brethern who used to get a living by being physicians<sup>3063</sup> or runners, doing errands on foot.....the 21 unlawful callings. It is very interesting to note that there is a substantial agreement between the Pali works and Sanskrit law books in this connection. Thus *Vaśiṣṭha*<sup>3064</sup> condemns actors; also *Baudhāyana*<sup>3065</sup> who adds to them stage-players and teachers of dancing, singing, and acting condemned as *upapātakins*.<sup>3066</sup> It is thus evident that both the Buddhist and Hindu social opinions are practically at one in condemning certain crafts and professions on the basis of an absolute standard, determined on grounds of moral deficiency and in some cases of uncleanness of the processes of operation involved in the craft.

Similar agreement between Hindu and Buddhist books is to be found with regard to the mobility of labour already mentioned. Thus all the

3058 *Mātanga* (No. 497); *Chittasambhūta* (No. 498).

3059 *Nassa chandāla kālakaṇṇi, adho-vātaṃ yāhi—Śvataketu* (No. 377).

3060 *Mātanga* (No. 497).

3061 *Chittasambhūta* (No. 498).

3062 *Chullavagga*, XII. 1. 3; *Mahāsīla* *Tevijja Sutta*, ch. II.

3053 Note the prohibition in the Hindu *smṛti*.

3054 III. 3.

3055 I. 5. 10, 14

3056 II. 1, 2, 13. Compare *Āpastamba* I. 6. 14; *Gautama* XVII. 17; *Vaśiṣṭha* XIV. 2. 3.

Hindu law books authorise the twice-born classes to take to the occupation of an inferior caste in times of distress or on failure to obtain a living through lawful labour.<sup>3067</sup> Gautama in his Dharmasūtra<sup>3068</sup> says that a brahmin can be a farmer and a trader, though trade in a certain specified articles are forbidden by him<sup>3069</sup> as also by Āpastamva,<sup>3070</sup> Baudhāyana<sup>3071</sup> and Vaśiṣṭha.<sup>3072</sup> Vaśiṣṭha<sup>3073</sup> prohibits brahmins and kṣatriyas from being usurers but Baudhāyana<sup>3074</sup> says that the vaiśya may practise usury. Even the brahmin priest who neglects his duties may at the king's pleasure be forced to do the work of a śūdra.<sup>3075</sup> But though brahmins lived not only as gentlemen farmers but also as humble ploughmen<sup>3076</sup> in this period a brahmin who persists in trade cannot be regarded as a brahmin nor can a priest who lives as an actor or physician.<sup>3077</sup> In fact, there were recognised customs, not approved in one part of the country but admitted as good usage because locally approved in other parts. For, in discussing usage, Baudhāyana<sup>3078</sup> expressly enumerates customs peculiar to the south and certain others peculiar to the north and adds that to follow these practices except where they are considered right usage is to sin but that for each practice the local rule is authoritative, though Gautama denies this.<sup>3079</sup>

**The condition of the labouring classes :** (a) *Free labourers*—There is very little evidence to prove that in India slavery ever became the basis of the economic life of the people. Labourers were mostly free and were paid for their work. The free labourers were called kammakara<sup>3080</sup> and their wages<sup>3081</sup> were settled by higgling and haggling as in the Gangamāla Jātaka<sup>3082</sup> In the Avārya Jātaka<sup>3083</sup> the ferryman is also

<sup>3067</sup> Gautama VII. 6 ; Vaśiṣṭha II. 22 ;

Baudhāyana II. 4. 16.

<sup>3068</sup> X. 5. Compare Vaśiṣṭha II. 24 f.

<sup>3069</sup> VII. 9—20.

<sup>3070</sup> I. 7. 20. 12—13.

<sup>3071</sup> II. 1. 2, 27.

<sup>3072</sup> II. 24—32.

<sup>3073</sup> II. 40.

<sup>3074</sup> V. 10. 21.

<sup>3075</sup> Baudhāyana II. 4. 7. 15.

<sup>3076</sup> Vaśiṣṭha III. 33.

<sup>3077</sup> Ibid., III. 3.

<sup>3078</sup> I. 1. 17 f.

<sup>3079</sup> Sacred Books of the East, Vol. II. p. XLIX.

<sup>3080</sup> Suvarṇamṛga Jātaka (No. 359) ; Vidurapaṇḍita (No. 545).

<sup>3081</sup> Purisatthakaram in Maṇikapṭha Jātaka (No. 253),

<sup>3082</sup> No. 421.

<sup>3083</sup> No. 376.

advised to settle the fare by bargaining before taking a man to the other side of the river. The wage-earning class also existed in the days of Pāṇini<sup>3084</sup> who uses the words *vetana* and *vaitanika*. The *Gangamāla Jātaka*<sup>3085</sup> gives us an insight into the frivolous though gay life led by some of the free labourers of those days. We are told that there was a poor labourer who earned his livelihood by fetching water to others. He contracted questionable intimacy with a poor woman who also earned her living by fetching water. Learning that a great festivity is in progress in the city (of Benares) they decided to join it with their total savings of one *māṣaka* each which they spent in regaling themselves with garland, perfumes and wine. Though the wage-earner was no man's chattel yet his lot seems to have been very hard. In the *Serivāṇij Jātaka*<sup>3086</sup> a free woman who earned her living by working as a domestic drudge in the house of a neighbour is described as living from hand to mouth and unable to save anything with which she could buy from the hawker articles for her only dependent, a grand-daughter. In the *Kuṇḍakapūpa Jātaka*<sup>3087</sup> a free labourer of Śrāvastī is described as making his both ends meet with great difficulty and when the other citizens decided to make a corporate gift to the monks he decided to present Buddha with cakes prepared with the fine husk of rice which only he could spare.

In addition to these there were the day-labourers<sup>3088</sup> whose lot was probably harder. He was to a great extent employed in the larger land-holdings<sup>3089</sup> and paid either in board and lodging<sup>3090</sup> or in money wages.<sup>3091</sup> In a list of callings given in the Buddhist books he ranks along with the mere hewers of wood and flower-gatherers and below the slave.<sup>3092</sup> In the *Sutanu Jātaka*<sup>3093</sup> a day-labourer is described as earning one or one-half *māṣaka* a day with which he is reported to have

<sup>3084</sup> IV. 4. 12.

<sup>3085</sup> No. 421.

<sup>3086</sup> No. 31.

<sup>3087</sup> No. 109.

<sup>3088</sup> *Bhṛtika* = Pāli *Bhātaka* in *Sutta Nipāta* I. 4; cf. S. I. 171; *Jātaka* III. 293; I. 468.

<sup>3089</sup> *Jātaka* III. 406; IV. 43; S. N. p. 12.

<sup>3090</sup> *Gangamāla Jātaka* (No. 421).

<sup>3091</sup> *Sutanu Jātaka* (No. 398).

<sup>3092</sup> D. I. 51; cf. Mil. 147; 331; A. I. 146, 206.

<sup>3093</sup> No. 398.

maintained himself and the only other dependent, his mother with great difficulty.

(b) *Slaves*—Next, there were slaves who were an adjunct in comparatively rich households. The male slaves sometimes served as a valet or footman to his master's son<sup>3094</sup> or as a store-keeper to his master<sup>3095</sup>; while the female slaves in royal establishments waited upon the queens and performed such duties as daily buying flowers for them<sup>3096</sup> and looking after the jewels of the ladies in the royal harem.<sup>3097</sup> In other households they had to husk paddy,<sup>3098</sup> pound rice<sup>3099</sup> and fetch water.<sup>3100</sup> They were sometimes put on hire to work for others.<sup>3101</sup> Slaves seem to have been recruited from all classes of society. The Viśwantara Jātaka seems to point to the fact that the enslavement of high-born prince and princess was nothing which could shock the social ideas of the day. From the Vidurapaṇḍita Jātaka<sup>3102</sup> we learn that slaves were of four kinds:—(1) garvadāsa, born slaves (i.e., children of slaves) (2) kritadāsa or those sold for money (3) bhaktadāsa or those who voluntarily recognise others as their owners for food and clothing (4) or for protection. To the *fifth* class belonged the karamaras of Pāli literature, those who were captured by the robbers that raided villages as in the Takka<sup>3103</sup> and Chullanārada<sup>3104</sup> Jātakas. These karamaras are akin to the dhvajāhṛta class of slaves described by Manu. To the *sixth* class belonged the daṇḍadāsa who were reduced to slavery as a judicial punishment. An instance of such degradation is furnished by the Kulāyaka Jātaka<sup>3105</sup> where the king enslaves the tyrannical village headman for his crimes.

The slaves formed part of the property of wealthy householders. "Wives and children, bondwomen and bondmen, goats and sheep, fowl and swine, elephants, cattle, horses and mares, together with gold and coins of

<sup>3094</sup> Kaṭāhaka Jātaka (No. 125).

<sup>3095</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3096</sup> Dhammapada Commentary on verses 21—23.

<sup>3097</sup> Mahāsāra Jātaka (No. 92).

<sup>3098</sup> D. C. III. 321.

<sup>3099</sup> Rohinī Jātaka (No. 45).

<sup>3100</sup> Vimānavattu commentary p. 45.

<sup>3101</sup> Nāmasiddhika Jātaka (No. 97).

<sup>3102</sup> No. 545.

<sup>3103</sup> No. 63.

<sup>3104</sup> No. 477.

<sup>3105</sup> No. 31.

silver"<sup>3106</sup> all those ties the householder is said to pursue with blind and avid appetite. But knowing that they are fetters and encumbrances, even the unconverted man when speaking in praise of Gautama might say "He refrains from accepting slavewomen or slave-men."<sup>3107</sup> The Theragāthā indicates that they were completely at their master's control and had no freedom except that given to them by their masters.<sup>3108</sup> They could be gifted away<sup>3109</sup> or exchanged for another.<sup>3110</sup> For this loss of *persona* Vasiṣṭha exempts them from taxation. For this very reason the master's consent was necessary for the slave's marriage. Pasenadi, king of Kośala had to obtain the consent of the master before he could marry Mallikā, daughter of a slave woman of one of the leading Śākya chiefs named Mahānāman. For the same reason the marriage of a slave with free women hardly improved his status.<sup>3111</sup> Similarly, sons born of a slave-girl by a free man were hardly regarded as free. Hence the Lichchhavis never recognised Vāsavakhattiya as a member of the Śākya family since she was the daughter of a Śākya prince by the slave-girl Nāgamundā.<sup>3112</sup>

The slaves, however, might be manumitted<sup>3113</sup> or might free themselves by payment ;<sup>3114</sup> but while still undischarged they were not even eligible for the pavajjā ordination.<sup>3115</sup> As Rhys Davids<sup>3116</sup> points out, although slaves might be admitted into some of the orders coexistent with the Buddhist saṃgha, Gotama restricted this custom, so that "whenever slaves were admitted to the Order they must have previously obtained the consent of their masters, and also, I think, have been emancipated". This is borne out by the story of the jealous woman who mutilated her female servant.<sup>3117</sup> When the outrage was brought to light and the woman and her husband had been reprimanded by Gotama, they were converted to the

<sup>3106</sup> Majjhima, I. 162.

<sup>3107</sup> Dialogues, I. p. 5.

<sup>3108</sup> Psalms of the Brethern, p. 360 ; cf. Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>3109</sup> Asampradāna Jātaka (No. 131).

<sup>3110</sup> Āpastamva I. 20. 15.

<sup>3111</sup> Chullaśreṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 4).

<sup>3112</sup> Bhadrāsāla Jātaka (No. 465).

<sup>3113</sup> D. I. 72 ; Psalms of the Sisters, p. 117 ; Psalms of the Brethern, p. 22 ; Jātaka V. 313 (dāsajanam bhujissam katvā).

<sup>3114</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 557).

<sup>3115</sup> Mahāvagga I. 47.

<sup>3116</sup> Dialogues I. p. 103.

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<sup>3119</sup> No. 382.  
<sup>3120</sup> No. 421.  
<sup>3121</sup> No. 354.  
<sup>3122</sup> D. C. I., 208 f.

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<sup>3128</sup> Sujātā Jātaka (No. 269).

<sup>3129</sup> Nāmasiddhika Jātaka (No. 97).

<sup>3130</sup> I, 125 f.

<sup>3131</sup> pp. 45—47.

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forest to commit suicide unable any more to bear the rude treatment of her mistress. We also read of run away slaves in the Jātakas.<sup>3133</sup>

(c) *Female Labourers*—Among the comparatively well-to-do classes the great majority of women were supported by father, husband or children and did not do much, if any, work beyond their household tasks. But among the poorer people the case was different and there are various records which refer to self-supporting women who were engaged in a trade or profession. The Jātakas, for example, refer to a free woman working as a maid-servant in a neighbour's house,<sup>3134</sup> as female astrologer (mahaikakṣaṇikā),<sup>3135</sup> as water-carrier<sup>3136</sup> and a guard over cotton-fields<sup>3137</sup> where she used sometimes to spin fine thread from the clean cotton.<sup>3138</sup> Again it is said that a certain woman was the keeper of a paddy field and she gathered and parched the heads of rice.<sup>3139</sup> Women also appear to have been capable of functioning as keepers of burning grounds, though no mention is made of any wage they might have received.<sup>3140</sup> In the Dhammapada Commentary<sup>3141</sup> we read of a woman acrobat: "One day (at Rājagṛha) a certain female tumbler climbed a pole, turned somersaults thereon, and balancing herself on the tip of the pole, danced and sang as she trod the air." The people "stood on bed piled on beds" to obtain a good view so that the tumbler earned "much gold and money."

A large number of women also earned their living by dancing and music<sup>3142</sup> while the courtesans formed a far from negligible portion of the

<sup>3133</sup> Kaṭāhaka Jātaka (No. 125); Kalan-  
duka (No. 127).

<sup>3134</sup> Serivāṇij (No. 3); Vāhya (No. 108);  
Suvarṇahansa (No. 136).

<sup>3135</sup> Asilakṣhaṇa Jātaka (No. 126).

<sup>3136</sup> Gangamāla Jātaka (No. 421);  
Mahānāradakāśyapa (No. 544).

<sup>3137</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).

<sup>3138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3139</sup> Dhammapada Commentary on  
verse 118.

<sup>3140</sup> Theragāthā Commentary on cxxxvi;  
Dhammapada Commentary on  
verse 7—8.

<sup>3141</sup> Dhammapada Commentary on verse  
348.

<sup>3142</sup> Majjhima Nikāya I. 504; Mahā-  
vagga I. 7, 1, 2; Dialogues I. pp.  
5 and 7; II. 170; Rhys Davids—  
Buddhist Birth Stories, p. 171;  
Dhammapada Commentary III.  
pp. 166 and 297; Naccagīta-vādita  
kusalā in Fausboll's Jātaka, II.,  
p. 328; V. p. 249; Solasasu nāṭaki-  
sahassee in Ibid., I. p. 437;  
Ibid., No. 263.

sight of a *chandāla* we are further told forebodes evil<sup>3058</sup>; contact with the air that touches his body is pollution<sup>3059</sup>; partaking of his food even without knowledge leads to social ostracism<sup>3060</sup> and even food seen by him is not to be taken.<sup>3061</sup> As examples of low crafts are mentioned those of the *nalakāra* (worker in grass and reeds) *kumbhakāra* (potter), *pesakāra* (weaver), *charmakāra* (leather-worker) and *nīpita* (barber). It should, however, be noted that the social stigma resting on these low trades was due sometimes to their very nature (as in the case of the butcher and the tanner) but chiefly to their association with the aboriginal non-Aryan tribes who followed them. Yet other despised callings were the black arts, explanation of signs, omens, auguries, dreams, foretelling events etc.<sup>3062</sup> *Jātaka* VI. 191 refers to the popular belief that even *Nāgas* do not dance for shame before actors. *Jātaka* II. 82 refers to Brethern who used to get a living by being physicians<sup>3063</sup> or runners, doing errands on foot.....the 21 unlawful callings. It is very interesting to note that there is a substantial agreement between the Pāli works and Sanskrit law books in this connection. Thus *Vaśiṣṭha*<sup>3064</sup> condemns actors; also *Baudhāyana*<sup>3065</sup> who adds to them stage-players and teachers of dancing, singing, and acting condemned as *upapātakins*.<sup>3066</sup> It is thus evident that both the Buddhist and Hindu social opinions are practically at one in condemning certain crafts and professions on the basis of an absolute standard, determined on grounds of moral deficiency and in some cases of uncleanness of the processes of operation involved in the craft.

Similar agreement between Hindu and Buddhist books is to be found with regard to the mobility of labour already mentioned. Thus all the

<sup>3058</sup> *Mātanga* (No. 437); *Chittasambhūta* (No. 498).

<sup>3059</sup> *Nassa*, *chandāla* *kālakappi*, *adho-vātaṃ yāhi*—*Śvataketu* (No. 377).

<sup>3060</sup> *Mātanga* (No. 497).

<sup>3061</sup> *Chittasambhūta* (No. 498).

<sup>3062</sup> *Chullavagga* XII. 1. 3; *Mahāśīla* *Tevijja Sutta*, ch. II.

<sup>3063</sup> Note the prohibition in the Hindu *smṛti*.

<sup>3064</sup> III. 3.

<sup>3065</sup> I. 5. 10, 14

<sup>3066</sup> II. 1, 2, 13. Compare *Āpastamava* I. 6. 14; *Gautama* XVII. 17; *Vaśiṣṭha* XIV. 2. 3.

Hindu law books authorise the twice-born classes to take to the occupation of an inferior caste in times of distress or on failure to obtain a living through lawful labour.<sup>3067</sup> Gautama in his Dharmasūtra<sup>3068</sup> says that a brahmin can be a farmer and a trader, though trade in a certain specified articles are forbidden by him<sup>3069</sup> as also by Āpastamba,<sup>3070</sup> Baudhāyana<sup>3071</sup> and Vasiṣṭha.<sup>3072</sup> Vasiṣṭha<sup>3073</sup> prohibits brahmins and kṣatriyas from being usurers but Baudhāyana<sup>3074</sup> says that the vaiśya may practise usury. Even the brahmin priest who neglects his duties may at the king's pleasure be forced to do the work of a śūdra.<sup>3075</sup> But though brahmins lived not only as gentlemen farmers but also as humble ploughmen<sup>3076</sup> in this period a brahmin who persists in trade cannot be regarded as a brahmin nor can a priest who lives as an actor or physician.<sup>3077</sup> In fact, there were recognised customs, not approved in one part of the country but admitted as good usage because locally approved in other parts. For, in discussing usage, Baudhāyana<sup>3078</sup> expressly enumerates customs peculiar to the south and certain others peculiar to the north and adds that to follow these practices except where they are considered right usage is to sin but that for each practice the local rule is authoritative, though Gautama denies this.<sup>3079</sup>

**The condition of the labouring classes :** (a) *Free labourers*—There is very little evidence to prove that in India slavery ever became the basis of the economic life of the people. Labourers were mostly free and were paid for their work. The free labourers were called kammakara<sup>3080</sup> and their wages<sup>3081</sup> were settled by higgling and haggling as in the Gangamāla Jātaka<sup>3082</sup> In the Avārya Jātaka<sup>3083</sup> the ferryman is also

<sup>3067</sup> Gautama VII. 6 ; Vasiṣṭha II. 22 ;

Baudhāyana II. 4. 16.

<sup>3068</sup> X. 5. Compare Vasiṣṭha II. 24 f.

<sup>3069</sup> VII. 9—20.

<sup>3070</sup> I. 7. 20. 12—13.

<sup>3071</sup> II. 1. 2, 27.

<sup>3072</sup> II. 24—32.

<sup>3073</sup> II. 40.

<sup>3074</sup> V. 10. 21.

<sup>3075</sup> Baudhāyana II. 4. 7. 15.

<sup>3076</sup> Vasiṣṭha III. 33.

<sup>3077</sup> Ibid., III. 3.

<sup>3078</sup> I. 1. 17 f.

<sup>3079</sup> Sacred Books of the East, Vol. II.  
p. XLIX.

<sup>3080</sup> Suvarṇamīga Jātaka ( No. 359 ) ;  
Vidurapandita ( No. 545 ).

<sup>3081</sup> Purisatthakaram in Maṇikanṭha  
Jātaka ( No. 253 ),

<sup>3082</sup> No. 421.

<sup>3083</sup> No. 376.

advised to settle the fare by bargaining before taking a man to the other side of the river. The wage-earning class also existed in the days of Pāṇinī<sup>3084</sup> who uses the words *vetana* and *vaitanika*. The *Gangamāla Jātaka*<sup>3085</sup> gives us an insight into the frivolous though gay life led by some of the free labourers of those days. We are told that there was a poor labourer who earned his livelihood by fetching water to others. He contracted questionable intimacy with a poor woman who also earned her living by fetching water. Learning that a great festivity is in progress in the city (of Benares) they decided to join it with their total savings of one *māṣaka* each which they spent in regaling themselves with garland, perfumes and wine. Though the wage-earner was no man's chattel yet his lot seems to have been very hard. In the *Serivāṇij Jātaka*<sup>3086</sup> a free woman who earned her living by working as a domestic drudge in the house of a neighbour is described as living from hand to mouth and unable to save anything with which she could buy from the hawker articles for her only dependent, a grand-daughter. In the *Kuṇḍakapūpa Jātaka*<sup>3087</sup> a free labourer of Śrāvastī is described as making his both ends meet with great difficulty and when the other citizens decided to make a corporate gift to the monks he decided to present Buddha with cakes prepared with the fine husk of rice which only he could spare.

In addition to these there were the day-labourers<sup>3088</sup> whose lot was probably harder. He was to a great extent employed in the larger land-holdings<sup>3089</sup> and paid either in board and lodging<sup>3090</sup> or in money wages.<sup>3091</sup> In a list of callings given in the Buddhist books he ranks along with the mere hewers of wood and flower-gatherers and below the slave.<sup>3092</sup> In the *Sutanu Jātaka*<sup>3093</sup> a day-labourer is described as earning one or one-half *māṣaka* a day with which he is reported to have

3084 IV. 4. 12.

3085 No. 421.

3086 No. 31.

3087 No. 109.

3088 *Bhṛtika* = Pāli *Bhātaka* in *Sutta Nipāta* I. 4 ; cf. S. I. 171 ; *Jātaka* III. 293 ; I. 468.

3089 *Jātaka* III. 406 ; IV. 43 ; S. N. p. 12.

3090 *Gangamāla Jātaka* (No. 421).

3091 *Sutanu Jātaka* (No. 398).

3092 D. I. 51 ; cf. Mil. 147 ; 331 ; A. I. 146, 206.

3093 No. 398.

maintained himself and the only other dependent, his mother with great difficulty.

(b) *Slaves*—Next, there were slaves who were an adjunct in comparatively rich households. The male slaves sometimes served as a valet or footman to his master's son<sup>3094</sup> or as a store-keeper to his master<sup>3095</sup>; while the female slaves in royal establishments waited upon the queens and performed such duties as daily buying flowers for them<sup>3096</sup> and looking after the jewels of the ladies in the royal harem.<sup>3097</sup> In other households they had to husk paddy,<sup>3098</sup> pound rice<sup>3099</sup> and fetch water.<sup>3100</sup> They were sometimes put on hire to work for others.<sup>3101</sup> Slaves seem to have been recruited from all classes of society. The Viśwantara Jātaka seems to point to the fact that the enslavement of high-born prince and princess was nothing which could shock the social ideas of the day. From the Vidurapaṇḍita Jātaka<sup>3102</sup> we learn that slaves were of four kinds:—(1) garvadāsa, born slaves (i.e., children of slaves) (2) kṛitadāsa or those sold for money (3) bhaktadāsa or those who voluntarily recognise others as their owners for food and clothing (4) or for protection. To the *fifth* class belonged the karamaras of Pāli literature, those who were captured by the robbers that raided villages as in the Takka<sup>3103</sup> and Chullanārada<sup>3104</sup> Jātakas. These karamaras are akin to the dhvajāhṛta class of slaves described by Manu. To the *sixth* class belonged the daṇḍadāsa who were reduced to slavery as a judicial punishment. An instance of such degradation is furnished by the Kulāyaka Jātaka<sup>3105</sup> where the king enslaves the tyrannical village headman for his crimes.

The slaves formed part of the property of wealthy householders. "Wives and children, bondwomen and bondmen, goats and sheep, fowl and swine, elephants, cattle, horses and mares, together with gold and coins of

<sup>3094</sup> Kaṭābhaka Jātaka (No. 125).

<sup>3095</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3096</sup> Dhammapada Commentary on verses 21—23.

<sup>3097</sup> Mahāsāra Jātaka (No. 92).

<sup>3098</sup> D. C. III. 321.

<sup>3099</sup> Rohini Jātaka (No. 45).

<sup>3100</sup> Vimānavattu commentary p. 45.

<sup>3101</sup> Nāmasiddhika Jātaka (No. 97).

<sup>3102</sup> No. 545.

<sup>3103</sup> No. 63.

<sup>3104</sup> No. 477.

<sup>3105</sup> No. 31.

silver"<sup>3106</sup> all those ties the householder is said to pursue with blind and avid appetite. But knowing that they are fetters and encumbrances, even the unconverted man when speaking in praise of Gautama might say "He refrains from accepting slavewomen or slave-men."<sup>3107</sup> The Theragāthā indicates that they were completely at their master's control and had no freedom except that given to them by their masters.<sup>3108</sup> They could be gifted away<sup>3109</sup> or exchanged for another.<sup>3110</sup> For this loss of *persona* Vasiṣṭha exempts them from taxation. For this very reason the master's consent was necessary for the slave's marriage. Pasenadi, king of Kosalā had to obtain the consent of the master before he could marry Mallikā, daughter of a slave woman of one of the leading Śākya chiefs named Mahānāman. For the same reason the marriage of a slave with free women hardly improved his status.<sup>3111</sup> Similarly, sons born of a slave-girl by a free man were hardly regarded as free. Hence the Licchhavis never recognised Vāsavakhattiya as a member of the Śākya family since she was the daughter of a Śākya prince by the slave-girl Nāgamundā.<sup>3112</sup>

The slaves, however, might be manumitted<sup>3113</sup> or might free themselves by payment;<sup>3114</sup> but while still undischarged they were not even eligible for the pavajjā ordination.<sup>3115</sup> As Rhys Davids<sup>3116</sup> points out, although slaves might be admitted into some of the orders coexistent with the Buddhist saṃgha, Gotama restricted this custom, so that "whenever slaves were admitted to the Order they must have previously obtained the consent of their masters, and also, I think, have been emancipated". This is borne out by the story of the jealous woman who mutilated her female servant.<sup>3117</sup> When the outrage was brought to light and the woman and her husband had been reprimanded by Gotama, they were converted to the

<sup>3106</sup> Majjhima, I. 162.

<sup>3107</sup> Dialogues, I. p. 5.

<sup>3108</sup> Psalms of the Brethern, p. 360 ; cf. Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>3109</sup> Asampradāna Jātaka (No. 131).

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<sup>3130</sup> I. 125 f.

<sup>3131</sup> pp. 45—47.

<sup>3132</sup> pp. 206—09.

forest to commit suicide unable any more to bear the rude treatment of her mistress. We also read of run away slaves in the Jātakas.<sup>3133</sup>

(c) *Female Labourers*—Among the comparatively well-to-do classes the great majority of women were supported by father, husband or children and did not do much, if any, work beyond their household tasks. But among the poorer people the case was different and there are various records which refer to self-supporting women who were engaged in a trade or profession. The Jātakas, for example, refer to a free woman working as a maid-servant in a neighbour's house,<sup>3134</sup> as female astrologer (mahaikakṣhaṇikā),<sup>3135</sup> as water-carrier<sup>3136</sup> and a guard over cotton-fields<sup>3137</sup> where she used sometimes to spin fine thread from the clean cotton.<sup>3138</sup> Again it is said that a certain woman was the keeper of a paddy field and she gathered and parched the heads of rice.<sup>3139</sup> Women also appear to have been capable of functioning as keepers of burning grounds, though no mention is made of any wage they might have received.<sup>3140</sup> In the Dhammapada Commentary<sup>3141</sup> we read of a woman acrobat: "One day (at Rājagṛha) a certain female tumbler climbed a pole, turned somersaults thereon, and balancing herself on the tip of the pole, danced and sang as she trod the air." The people "stood on bed piled on beds" to obtain a good view so that the tumbler earned "much gold and money."

A large number of women also earned their living by dancing and music<sup>3142</sup> while the courtesans formed a far from negligible portion of the

<sup>3133</sup> Kaṭāhaka Jātaka (No. 125); Kalan-  
duka (No. 127).

<sup>3134</sup> Serivāpij (No. 3); Vāhya (No. 108);  
Suvarṇapaṇṣa (No. 136).

<sup>3135</sup> Asilakṣhaṇa Jātaka (No. 126).

<sup>3136</sup> Gangamāla Jātaka (No. 421);  
Mahānārada-kāśyapa (No. 544).

<sup>3137</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).

<sup>3138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3139</sup> Dhammapada Commentary on  
verse 118.

<sup>3140</sup> Theragāthā Commentary on cxxxvi;  
Dhammapada Commentary on  
verse 7—8.

<sup>3141</sup> Dhammapada Commentary on verse  
348.

<sup>3142</sup> Majjhima Nikāya I. 504; Mahā-  
vagga I. 7, 1, 2; Dialogues I. pp.  
5 and 7; II. 170; Rhys Davids—  
Buddhist Birth Stories, p. 171;  
Dhammapada Commentary III.  
pp. 166 and 297; Naccagita-vāḍita  
kusalā in Fausboll's Jātaka, II.,  
p. 328; V. p. 249; Solasasu nāṭaki-  
sahasasesu in Ibid., I. p. 437;  
Ibid., No. 263.

The interchange of commodities of various localities must have been considerable during this period. For, the products of industries which came to be localised in a particular place attained a reputation all their own and were, therefore, much prized abroad. Such were the scents, ivory-products, cotton and silk fabrics of Benares, the blankets of Gāndhāra, the cloth of Śivi country, the linen of Kautumvara, the horses of Sind, the mules of Kamvoja and the swords of Daśārṇaka.

Besides the big caravan-traders<sup>3231</sup> we also notice the hawker (kach-chhapuṭavāṇijo) and the small traders who used to carry their goods from one village to another on the backs of asses<sup>3232</sup> or on their own heads.<sup>3233</sup> Again some of the merchants specialised in the trade of single commodities. Of such the Jātakas refer to cloth-merchants,<sup>3234</sup> grain merchants<sup>3235</sup> and incense merchants<sup>3236</sup> while Pāṇini<sup>3237</sup> refers to salt merchants and spice merchants.

As to local trade both retail and wholesale, foodstuffs for the towns were apparently brought to the gates while workshop and bazar occupied their special streets within.<sup>3238</sup> Thus there was a fish-monger's village at a gate of Śrāvastī.<sup>3239</sup> Greengrocery is sold at the four gates of Uttara-Pāñchāla<sup>3240</sup> and venison at the crossroads outside Benares.<sup>3241</sup> Arrows, carriages and other articles for sale were displayed in the āpaṇa<sup>3242</sup> or it might be stored up in the antarāpaṇa.<sup>3243</sup> There were taverns for the sale of liquors<sup>3244</sup> as also hotels for the sale of cooked meat and rice.<sup>3245</sup>

The act of exchange between producer and consumer or between either and a middleman was a free bargain,<sup>3246</sup> leading sometimes to

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| <sup>3231</sup> Serivāpij Jātaka (No. 3).                        | <sup>3240</sup> Jātaka IV. 445.   |
| <sup>3232</sup> Siṃhacarma Jātaka (No. 189).                     | <sup>3241</sup> Jātaka III. 49 ; cf. M. I. 58 ; III. 91.  |
| <sup>3233</sup> Garga Jātaka (No. 155).                          | <sup>3242</sup> Jātaka II. 267 ; IV. 488 ; Vinaya IV. 248.  |
| <sup>3234</sup> Vidurapandita Jātaka (No. 545).                  | <sup>3243</sup> Jātaka I. 55, 350 ; III. 406.   |
| <sup>3235</sup> Ahitnṇḍika Jātaka (No. 365).                     | <sup>3244</sup> Jātaka I. 251 f. ; 268 f. ; VI. 328 ; Vinaya II. 267 ; IV. 248, 249 ; cf. Dhammapada commentary, III. 66. |
| <sup>3236</sup> Andhabhūta Jātaka (No. 62).                      | <sup>3245</sup> Vinaya I. 20 ; II. 267 ; D. 22.   |
| <sup>3237</sup> Lāvāpika, salāluka in Pāṇini IV. 4 51—54.        | <sup>3246</sup> Jātaka I. 111 f. ; 195 ; II. 222, 289, 424 f. ; III. 282 f.   |
| <sup>3238</sup> Rhys Davids—Buddhist India, p. 76.               |   |
| <sup>3239</sup> Psalms of the Brethern, 166 ; cf. Jātaka I. 361. |   |

adulteration<sup>3247</sup> and the use of false weights.<sup>3248</sup> We notice not only local 'cornering' in hay<sup>3249</sup> but also the dealer's sense of the wear and tear of articles<sup>3250</sup> and a case of that more developed competition called 'dealing in futures'.<sup>3251</sup> Again in the Apañṇaka Jātaka<sup>3252</sup> two traders agree who shall start first. The one thinks that if he arrive first he will get a better, because a non-competitive price; the other also holding that 'competition is killing work' prefers to sell at the price fixed by his predecessor and yields him a start. But though free competition was the rule, custom may well have fixed price to a great extent. The expression "my wife is sometimes as meek as a 100 piece slave-girl"<sup>3253</sup> reveals a customary price. Moreover, for the royal household prices were fixed by the court-valuer without appeal.<sup>3254</sup>

The trade of the traders may well have been largely hereditary<sup>3255</sup>; but their organisations do not seem to have attained the same development as the craft-guilds. The reason seems to have been that the merchant was necessarily a wanderer while industrial organisation in these olden days depended largely upon settled relations and ties of neighbourhood. A Hansa League, for instance, can only grow in highly developed markets and seaports. Nevertheless, there is some significant evidence of corporate concerted action among the merchants. Thus the Chullakaśreṣṭhi Jātaka<sup>3256</sup> mentions hundred or so merchants offering to buy up a newly arrived ship's cargo. Five hundred traders were fellow-passengers on board the ill-fated ships mentioned in the Valāhāśva<sup>3257</sup> and Pāṇḍara<sup>3258</sup> Jātakas; seven hundred others were lucky enough to obtain the services of Supārāga as their pilot,<sup>3259</sup> thus showing co-operative chartering of the same vessel. Again caravan traders had a common chief<sup>3260</sup> who was to

<sup>3247</sup> Nemi Jātaka (No. 541).

<sup>3248</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3249</sup> Chullakaśreṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 4).

<sup>3250</sup> Apañṇaka (No. 1) = Jātaka I. 99.

<sup>3251</sup> Chullakaśreṣṭhi (No. 4) = Jātaka I. 121 f.

<sup>3252</sup> No. 1.

<sup>3253</sup> Nanda (No. 39); Durājāna (No. 64).

<sup>3254</sup> Taṇḍulanāli (No. 5); Suhanu (No.

158); Nemi (No. 541); Psalms of the Brethern, 25, 212.

<sup>3255</sup> Jātaka II. 287; III. 198.

<sup>3256</sup> No. 4.

<sup>3257</sup> No. 196.

<sup>3258</sup> No. 518.

<sup>3259</sup> Supārāga Jātaka (No. 463).

<sup>3260</sup> Mahāvāṇij Jātaka (No. 493).

give directions as to halts, waterings, precautions against robbers and in many cases as to routes, fords etc.<sup>3261</sup>

Further, several partnerships are mentioned, e. g., in the deal in birds exported from India to Babylon<sup>3262</sup> and in horses imported from the north to Benares.<sup>3263</sup> We also notice the partnership of traders of Śrāvastī who carried on joint business and set out with five hundred cart-loads of merchandise,<sup>3264</sup> of two other traders of Śrāvastī who started joint business with five hundred cart-loads of merchandise,<sup>3265</sup> of two merchants of Benares who took five hundred waggons of merchandise from Benares to the country districts with an equal interest of both in the stock-in-trade and in the oxen and waggons.<sup>3266</sup>

A concerted commercial enterprise on a more extensive scale appears in the Jarudapāna Jātaka<sup>3267</sup> where some traders of Śrāvastī carried on joint business and came upon rich finds of minerals of all sorts from iron to lapislazuli which they stowed away to a common treasure-house, giving food to the brotherhood on joint account.

**Methods and media of exchange**—Barter was not uncommon in this period. Its continuance was due to the ease with which ordinary people could exchange their goods readily. Brahmins who were not allowed to trade in articles of agricultural production were permitted to barter home-grown corn, food etc.<sup>3268</sup> Barter was also prescribed for the Saṃgha in certain cases<sup>3269</sup> to whom the use of money was forbidden.<sup>3270</sup> Barter also emerged in certain contingencies e. g., when a potter buys fuel for 16 kahāpanas and a few pots,<sup>3271</sup> when among humble folk a dog is bought for a kahāpana and a cloak<sup>3272</sup> or when a wanderer obtains a meal

<sup>3261</sup> Apāṇṇaka (No. 1); Vāṇupatha (No. 2); Jarudapāna (No. 256).

<sup>3262</sup> Bāveru Jātaka (No. 339).

<sup>3263</sup> Suhanu Jātaka (No. 158).

<sup>3264</sup> Mahāvāpij Jātaka (No. 493).

<sup>3265</sup> Kūṭavāpija Jātaka (No. 98).

<sup>3266</sup> Ibid (Pratyutpannavastu).

<sup>3267</sup> Jarudapāna Jātaka (No. 256).

<sup>3268</sup> Vaśiṣṭha II. 37—39; Gautama VII. 16 f; Āpasthamva I. 20. 9. 6.

<sup>3269</sup> Vinaya II. 174.

<sup>3270</sup> Vinaya II. 294 f; III. 237; Pātimokkha V. 18; V. 19.

<sup>3271</sup> Chullakāśreṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 4).

<sup>3272</sup> Śanaka Jātaka (No. 242).

from a woodlander for a gold pin.<sup>3273</sup> From the Sūtras of Pāṇini<sup>3274</sup> we have a large number of words which prove the existence of barter in his time. Thus we have *saurpa*, anything purchased with *sūrpa*; *vāsanam*, anything purchased with *vasana*; *maudgika*, anything purchased with the exchange of *mudga* and so on.

Rice<sup>3275</sup> and cowry-shell (*sippikā*)<sup>3276</sup> were still standards of value when the Jātakas were composed. From Pāṇini<sup>3277</sup> we find that *go-puchchha* or bovine tail also acted as a medium of exchange. A more common standard of value was, however, the cow. Thus in illustration of Pāṇini's sūtra "*Taddhitārthottara-pada-samāhāre ca*"<sup>3278</sup> we have the word *pañcagu* which means anything bought in exchange for five cows. Similarly in the Dharmasūtras we find that all fines for murder are reckoned in cows.<sup>3279</sup>

But for the ordinary mechanism of exchange the value of every marketable commodity was stated in figures of a certain metallic medium of exchange. From the evidences furnished by the literature of this period we find the use of the following metallic media of exchange:—

- (1) *kākaṇika*<sup>3280</sup> (2) *ardhamāṣaka*<sup>3281</sup> (3) *māṣaka*<sup>3282</sup> (4) quarter *kārṣa*<sup>3283</sup> (5) half-*kārṣa*<sup>3284</sup> (6) *kārṣapaṇa*<sup>3285</sup> (7) *pāda*<sup>3286</sup> (8) *paṇa*<sup>3287</sup>

<sup>3273</sup> Jātaka VI. 519.

<sup>3274</sup> Sūrpād aṇṇ anyatarasāyā—Pāṇini V. 1. 26; Śatamānaviṃśatika-sahasra-vasanādap—Pāṇini V. 1. 27; Tena Kṛtam—Pāṇini V. 1. 27.

<sup>3275</sup> Tapdulanāli Jātaka (No. 5).

<sup>3276</sup> Śīgāla Jātaka (No. 113).

<sup>3277</sup> Ārhat-gopuchchha-saṃkhyā-parimānād ṭhak—V. 1. 19; cf. Pāṇini IV. 4. 6.

<sup>3278</sup> II. 1. 51.

<sup>3279</sup> Āpasthamva I. 21. 1—3; Baudhāyana I. 10. 21—22.

<sup>3280</sup> Chullakaśreṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 4). Kākaṇika =  $\frac{1}{4}$ th māṣaka (R. Śyāma Śāstri's Eng. Trans. of Kauṭilya's Arthasāstra, p. 98 fn. 6).

<sup>3281</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).

<sup>3282</sup> Illisa Jātaka (No. 78); Matsyadāna Jātaka (No. 288); cf. Suvarpa māṣaka in Udayabhadra (No. 458) and Sankhapāla (No. 524) Jātakas.

<sup>3283</sup> Gangāmāla Jātaka (No. 421).

<sup>3284</sup> Ibid; Mahāsvapna (No. 77).

<sup>3285</sup> Chullakaśreṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 4); Kṛṣṇa (No. 29); Nanda (No. 39); Durājāna (No. 64); Śilāmimāṃsā (No. 86); Ubbatobharaṣṭa (No. 139); Grāmaṇicapda (No. 257); Supārāga (No. 463); Mahāunmārga (No. 546); Mahāsvapna (No. 77); Pāṇini V. 1. 29.

<sup>3286</sup> Pāṇini, V. 1. 34; V. 2. 119.

<sup>3287</sup> Ibid.

- (9) śatamāna<sup>3288</sup> (10) niṣka<sup>3289</sup> (11) suvarṇa<sup>3290</sup> (12) hiraṇya<sup>3291</sup>  
 (13) kaṃsa<sup>3292</sup> and (14) vista.<sup>3293</sup>

Some of these were made of gold and silver, others of copper or base metal. With the single exception of vista which is hardly mentioned in later literature all of these were circulating media of exchange in later periods as well. According to Dr. Goldstucker<sup>3294</sup> some of these even bore stamped impressions on them ; and in support of his contention he quotes the following sūtra of Pāṇini : *Rupādāhata prasamṣayoryap.*<sup>3295</sup> Here we get the rule for the addition of the suffix yap on the word rūpa to designate both a coin bearing impressions, and a man of fine appearance. Āhata has been explained by the Kāśikā commentary, as bearing impression by stamping : “*Nighātina—tādanādinā, Dīnārādiṣu rūpam yadutpadyate tadāhatamucyate.*” The Pātimokkha<sup>3296</sup> also refers to this practice of stamping impressions on coins which therefore came to be known as rūpyas (or rupiyos in Prākṛt dialects.)

It is worthy of note that most of the names of these media of exchange refer to a certain weight of metal they contained. For example, kārṣāpaṇa contained one karṣa in weight of the metal of which it was composed and was, therefore, called kārṣāpaṇa. On the basis of the weight in metal the medium of exchange contained two systems of currency arose. The older one reckoned the weight at 100 kṛṣṇalas while the newer one that arose in this period reckoned the weight at 80 kṛṣṇalas. Following Manu<sup>3297</sup> we get the following table of weights on which the newer standard was based :—

<sup>3288</sup> Ibid., V. 1. 27 ; Kātyāyana Śrauta  
Sūtra XV. 181 and 182.

<sup>3289</sup> Pāṇini, V. 1. 30 ; Dyūta Jātaka  
(No. 478) ; Kuśa (No. 531) ; Viśwan-  
tara (No. 547).

<sup>3290</sup> Vinaya III. 219 ; Illisa Jātaka  
(No. 78).

<sup>3291</sup> Vinaya III. 219 ; cf. Pāṇini V. 2.  
65 ; V. 2. 55.

<sup>3292</sup> Pāṇini V. 1. 25.

<sup>3293</sup> Ibid., V. 1. 31.

<sup>3294</sup> Numismata Orientalia, p. 39, fn. 3.

<sup>3295</sup> Pāṇini V. 2. 120

<sup>3296</sup> V. 18 ; V. 19.

<sup>3297</sup> VIII. 134—37.



For gold :

5 kṛṣṇālas or	
5 guñjaberry seeds or	
5 ratis make	1 Māṣaka
4 māṣakas make	1 Pāda
4 pādas or	
80 kṛṣṇālas i. e.,	
80 guñjaberry seeds i. e.,	
80 ratis make	1 Karṣa
1 karṣa makes	1 Suvarṇa
4 suvarṇas make	1 Pala
1 pala makes	1 Niṣka

For silver :

2 ratis make	1 Māṣaka
16 māṣakas make	1 Dharāṇa

According to Kauṭilya<sup>3298</sup> 1 silver māṣaka was 88 white mustard seeds (gaura sarṣapa) in weight. Now 18 white mustard seeds are equal in weight to one kṛṣṇala or guñjaberry seed ; so that a silver dharāṇa will be equal to  $\frac{16 \times 88}{18} = 78\frac{2}{9}$  kṛṣṇālas. Hence a dharāṇa was equal in weight (78 $\frac{2}{9}$  kṛṣṇālas) to one Suvarṇa or 1 Karṣa (80 kṛṣṇālas)

For Copper :

Five ratis make	1 Māṣaka
4 māṣakas make	1 Pāda
4 pādas or 80 ratis make	1 Karṣa.

The older Śatamāna standard still continued in some localities. From the Vinaya Piṭaka<sup>3299</sup> we learn that in Rājagṛha in the time of Ajātaśatru or Vimbiśāra one pāda was equal to five māṣakas so that in that locality the kārṣāpaṇa was equal in weight to 5 × 20 or 100 ratis (as against 4 × 20 or 80 ratis under the new standard). We have seen that according to the new standard four suvarṇas make one niṣka but according to the evidence of old Pāli literature<sup>3300</sup> five suvarṇas make one niṣka so that

<sup>3298</sup> Arthaśāstra, Bk. II. ch. 19.

<sup>3299</sup> III. 45.

<sup>3300</sup> Childers — Pali Dictionary, s. v. Nikkha.

like the pāda of the Vinaya Piṭaka the niṣka was also based on the older Śatamāna standard.

We have at present very little evidence at our disposal to enable us to find out as to whether gold or silver was the accepted standard of currency. Both the standards seem to have existed side by side. As to the relative value of gold and silver in this period we are absolutely in the dark. According to Dr. Prāṇanātha<sup>3301</sup> "A careful study of the fines prescribed in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya may possibly afford a clue to the value of gold and silver. In assessing fines the value of any stolen article was taken into consideration. According to Kauṭilya the fine should be ten times the value of the stolen article.....Kauṭilya in section 76 assessed the fines payable for the theft of one māṣaka of gold and silver as 200 and 12 copper paṇas respectively. If these fines represent twelve times the value of the stolen article, then the value of the gold and silver pieces, each weighing 1 māṣaka comes to 16.6 and 1 copper paṇa respectively." On the basis of a very reliable evidence furnished by a second century inscription Dr. D. R. Bhāṇḍarakāra<sup>3302</sup> has found out the ratio between gold and silver as 14.1 to 1.

**Instruments of credit** :—Though as yet we have no evidence to prove the existence of collective banking, instruments of credit were not altogether unknown, for, in the Jātakas we read of signet rings being used by merchants as deposit or security (satyankāra = Pāli satyakāra)<sup>3303</sup> and of I. O. U. 's (innapannani<sup>3304</sup> or likhita<sup>3305</sup>).

**Weights and measures** :—The tulā (scales) mentioned in the White Yajurveda<sup>3306</sup> was in general use in this period as is evident from its use in similes.<sup>3307</sup> Besides udanka (= Pāli ulunka)<sup>3308</sup> a liquid measure (for water) we find the use of the following weights and measures in this

<sup>3301</sup> A Study in the Economic condition of Ancient India, pp. 86-87.

<sup>3302</sup> Ancient Indian Numismatics.

<sup>3303</sup> Chullakaśreṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 4)

<sup>3304</sup> Khadirāṅgāra (No. 40); Ruru (No. 482).

<sup>3305</sup> Vaśiṣṭha, XVI. 10.

<sup>3306</sup> XXX. 17.

<sup>3307</sup> Kukkuṇa Jātaka (No. 22); Mahā-nārada Kāśyapa (No. 544).

<sup>3308</sup> Kuṇḍakapūpa Jātaka (No. 109).

period<sup>3309</sup> :—(1) māṣa<sup>3310</sup> (2) nālikā<sup>3311</sup> (3) āḍhaka<sup>3312</sup> (4) māna<sup>3313</sup> and (5) droṇa.<sup>3314</sup>

**Purchasing power of money**—the Jātakas furnish us with the daily earnings of some classes of labourers in money and with the purchasing power of money. But unfortunately it is difficult to find out whether the unit of money was of silver or copper. Moreover, the Jātakas contain not only exaggerations but also imaginary colourings of facts and as such on their evidence scientific calculations cannot be based. Nevertheless if we make due allowance for all such exaggerations the evidences furnished by them may throw a flood of light on the wealth and welfare of the people of those days. Thus the fee paid to a barber was eight kārṣāpaṇas, presumably of copper.<sup>3315</sup> The fee of a high class courtesan was 1000 kārṣāpaṇas per night.<sup>3316</sup> One thousand kārṣāpaṇas were the usual tuition fee paid in advance to the ācārya.<sup>3317</sup> Poorer students must have paid lower fees as they had to collect them by begging. In the Dyūta Jātaka<sup>3318</sup> a student after completing his education managed to collect only seven niṣkas which however, he lost on the way by a boat-accident. He then resorted to hunger-strike and obtained thereby from the king 14 niṣkas which he paid to his teacher. From the Gangāmāla Jātaka<sup>3319</sup> we find that a male

<sup>3309</sup> An idea of these weights and measures may be obtained from the following tables based on later authorities :—

(a) According to Kauṭilya (Arthaśāstra Bk. II. ch. XIX) :—

10 seeds of māṣa (Phaseolus Radiatus) or	
5 guñjaberries make	1 Suvarṇamāṣa
16 suvarṇamāṣas make	1 suvarṇa
	or karṣha
4 kārṣhas make	1 Pala

(b) According to Śaraṅadhara Saṃhitā (pp. 10 — 13) :—

5 × 16 × 4 = 320 guñjaberries make	1 Pala
4 palas make	1 Kuḍava
4 kuḍavas make	1 Prastha
1 prastha makes	1 Nālikā
4 nālikās make	1 Āḍhaka

2 āḍhakas make	1 Māna
2 mānas or	
4 āḍhakas make	1 Droṇa

<sup>3310</sup> Pāpinī V. 1 53

<sup>3311</sup> Tāṇḍulanālī (No. 5); Vāruṇī (No. 47); Sālitaka (No. 107).

<sup>3312</sup> Asampradāna Jātaka (No. 131); Pāpinī V. 1. 53.

<sup>3313</sup> Asampradāna Jātaka (No. 131).

<sup>3314</sup> Vikarṇaka Jātaka (No. 232)

<sup>3315</sup> Supārāga Jātaka (No. 463)

<sup>3316</sup> Kaṇavera (No. 318); Sulasā (No. 419); Tarkārika (No. 481).

<sup>3317</sup> Susīma (No. 163); Tilamuṣṭhi (No. 252).

<sup>3318</sup> No. 478.

<sup>3319</sup> No. 421.

and a female water-carrier used to earn half a māṣaka each per day, while from the Viṣahya Jātaka<sup>3320</sup> we learn that a śreṣṭhī, being reduced to bankruptcy took to the work of a grass-cutter and earned two māṣakas a day out of which he intended to give away one māṣaka, keeping the other for himself, which he thought would fetch sufficient food for him and his wife for one day. In the Sutanu Jātaka<sup>3321</sup> a day labourer is described as earning one-half to one māṣaka a day with which he somehow maintained himself and his mother. Even if the māṣaka referred to in the above three Jātakas be a silver one it is apparent that the prices of necessities of life must have been very cheap so that one-half māṣaka of silver was sufficient for one man for one whole day.

In fact the purchasing power of money was high. A big Rohita fish was worth seven māṣakas.<sup>3322</sup> Half a māṣaka of meat was sufficient for one lizard.<sup>3323</sup> A small quantity of clarified butter or oil could be had for a copper kārṣāpaṇa.<sup>3324</sup> A cup of surā was worth one copper kārṣāpaṇa.<sup>3325</sup> Six kārṣas (kārṣāpaṇas ?) would buy coarse clothing for a monk and ten kārṣas for a nun.<sup>3326</sup> In the Bhikkhuṇī Pātimokkha two kārṣas and a half and four kārṣas are set down respectively as the price of small and big covering pieces for nuns. A pair of ox would cost 24 kārṣāpaṇas.<sup>3327</sup> Eight kārṣāpaṇas could buy a decent ass.<sup>3328</sup> A young calf was sufficient as house-rent (nivāsa-vetana) for a certain period.<sup>3329</sup> Hire for an ox used in carrying a cart across a shallow river was two kārṣāpaṇas.<sup>3330</sup> Cart-hire from Benares city to the pattana (port) near by was eight kārṣāpaṇas.<sup>3331</sup> The price of a slave was 100 kārṣāpaṇas, presumably of silver.<sup>3332</sup> The price of slaves, however, varied with their accomplish-

<sup>3320</sup> No. 340.

<sup>3321</sup> No. 398.

<sup>3322</sup> Matsyadāna Jātaka (No. 288)

<sup>3323</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).

<sup>3324</sup> Vinaya IV. 248-50

<sup>3325</sup> Illisa Jātaka (No. 78)

<sup>3326</sup> Pātimokkha.

<sup>3327</sup> Kṛṣṇa (No. 29); Grāmaṇīchanda (No. 257).

<sup>3328</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).

<sup>3329</sup> Kṛṣṇa Jātaka (No. 29).

<sup>3330</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3331</sup> Chullakaśreṣṭhī Jātaka (No. 4).

<sup>3332</sup> Nanda (No. 39); Durājāna (No. 64); In the Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547) Amitratāpanā was given in lieu of 100 kārṣāpaṇas kept as deposit with her father who spent it away.

ments, good birth or ( if a woman ) beauty as is evident from the Śaktubhastā<sup>3333</sup> and Viśwantara<sup>3334</sup> Jātakas.

Certain articles, however, were noted for their high price. Kapotikā wine was very dear.<sup>3335</sup> Strong drink was exchanged for gold and silver pieces.<sup>3336</sup> A gold necklace worth a thousand pieces presumably of silver<sup>3337</sup> and sātakas worth a thousand pieces presumably of copper<sup>3338</sup> are referred to. Essence of sandalwood,<sup>3339</sup> woolen blankets<sup>3340</sup> and Benares fabrics each worth a lac pieces presumably of copper<sup>3341</sup> are also mentioned.

**Progress of capitalism :—(a) Hoarding**—With the growth of trade and commerce and development of town-life luxury invaded society, gambling and want of thrift reduced many families to poverty and much of this wealth passed into other hands. Ordinary people hoarded their wealth either under the ground<sup>3342</sup> or deposited it with a friend.<sup>3343</sup> Rich people kept a register of the nature and amount of the wealth thus hoarded on inscribed plates of gold or copper.<sup>3344</sup>

**(b) Usury**—Nevertheless money was lent on interest. There is a tolerant tone concerning the moneylender in the Rohantamṛga Jātaka<sup>3345</sup> where moneylending together with tillage, trade and harvesting are called four honest callings. Gautama<sup>3346</sup> is equally tolerant ; though Vaśiṣṭha<sup>3347</sup> and Baudhāyana<sup>3348</sup> condemn it. Hypocritical ascetics are accused of practising it.<sup>3349</sup> In Pāṇini's sūtras<sup>3350</sup> we find the words Dvaiguṇika, Traiguṇika and Daśaikādaśika which go to prove the exorbitant rates of interest exacted

<sup>3333</sup> No. 402.

<sup>3334</sup> No. 547 (case of Prince Viśwantara and his sister).

<sup>3335</sup> Surāpāna Jātaka (No. 81).

<sup>3336</sup> Vāruṇī Jātaka (No. 47).

<sup>3337</sup> Kurudharma Jātaka (No. 276).

<sup>3338</sup> Utsanga (No. 67) ; Guṇa ( No. 157 ) ; Therīgāthā, ch. XIV.

<sup>3339</sup> Kurudharma (No. 276) ; cf. Sandalwood worth 1 lac pieces in Mahāsvapna (No. 77).

<sup>3340</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).

<sup>3341</sup> Mahāśvāroha Jātaka (No. 302) ; Mahāunmārga (No. 546).

<sup>3342</sup> Jāt. I. 225, 235f., 424 ; II. 308 ; III. 24, 116.

<sup>3343</sup> Jāt. VI. 521 ; Vin. III. 237.

<sup>3344</sup> Jāt. IV. 7, 488 ; VI. 29 ; cf. IV. 237.

<sup>3345</sup> No. 501.

<sup>3346</sup> X. 6 ; XI. 21.

<sup>3347</sup> II. 41, 42.

<sup>3348</sup> I. 5. 10.

<sup>3349</sup> Mahākṛṣṇa Jātaka (No. 469)

<sup>3350</sup> IV. 4. 30 ; IV. 4. 31 ; V. 1. 47.

by some of the moneylenders of those days. Debtors were often reduced to slavery for non-payment of debts. Thus in the *Therīgāthā* Isidāsī, a nun narrates the story of her reduction to slavery in one of her previous births on account of her father's debts.<sup>3351</sup> Moreover, debtors were not allowed to enter the Buddhist Order.<sup>3352</sup> On the other hand the usurers seem to have organised themselves into guilds having customary laws governing their transactions.<sup>3353</sup> *Vaśiṣṭha*<sup>3354</sup> and *Gautama*<sup>3355</sup> name six different kinds of interest viz., compound, periodical, stipulated, corporal, daily and the use of pledge. The legal rate is fixed at five *māsas* a month<sup>3356</sup> for 20 *kārṣāpaṇas* which comes to about 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ %. Anybody who exacted more than this legal rate of interest is called *Vārdhūṣika*. But according to *Vaśiṣṭha*,<sup>3357</sup> two, three, four, five in the 100 is declared in the *Smṛti* to be the monthly rate of interest according to caste. Again articles such as gold, grain, flavouring substance, flowers, roots, fruits, wool, beasts of burden without security could be lent at an enormous rate of interest which could be increased six or eight-fold. The interest, however, stopped with the death of the king in whose reign the transaction took place.

Loans were contracted either on notes of hand<sup>3358</sup> or on the deposit of pledges (*ādhi*).<sup>3359</sup> It appears that the debtor got back his note of hand when the loan was repaid.<sup>3360</sup>

**The State in relation to Economic life**—The science of *Vārttā* which concerned itself with the various branches of production as understood in in those days formed a part of the curriculum of royal studies<sup>3361</sup> and the king was repeatedly asked whether he was paying proper attention to the prosperity of those who are engaged in cattle-rearing, agriculture and

<sup>3351</sup> See also D. I. 71.

<sup>3352</sup> *Vinaya* I 76.

<sup>3353</sup> *Gautama* XI. 21.

<sup>3354</sup> II. 51

<sup>3355</sup> XII. 34-35

<sup>3356</sup> *Gautama* XII. 29. *Baudhāyana* I. 5.  
10. 22.

<sup>3357</sup> II. 42—50.

<sup>3358</sup> *Ḍḍapannani* in *Khadirāṅgāra* (No. 40) and *Ruru* (No. 48); *likhita* in *Vaśiṣṭha* XVI. 10.

<sup>3359</sup> *Jātaka* VI. 521; *Therīgāthā*, 404.

<sup>3360</sup> *Khadirāṅgāra* (No. 40); *Ruru* (No. 48).

<sup>3361</sup> *Rāmāyana*, *Bālakāṇḍa*.

trade.<sup>3362</sup> Kings seem to have kept granaries for emergencies like war and famine<sup>3363</sup> and to have provided persons with food and seed-corn to enable them to start farming.<sup>3364</sup> He was bound not only to protect the property of infants<sup>3365</sup> but also to maintain the śrotrīyas, the weak, the aged, women without means and lunatics.<sup>3366</sup> Āpastamva<sup>3367</sup> calls upon kings to build a hall open to guests of the first three varṇas and to see that no Brahmin suffered from hunger in his realm.

In exchange for these and other services rendered by him the king had a right to a tithe on raw produce whose amount and method of assessment we have already described. Moreover, all property left intestate or ownerless reverted to the crown.<sup>3368</sup> Gautama<sup>3369</sup> lays down that the property of a Brahmin who leaves no issue (apparently, no successor) is divided among the Brahmins, but the king appropriates in such cases the property of men of other castes. According to Āpastamva<sup>3370</sup> on failure of all (relations) let the king take the inheritance. Vaśiṣṭha<sup>3371</sup> and Baudhāyana<sup>3372</sup> are also of the same opinion. Vaśiṣṭha, however, excludes a Brahmin's property from the operation of this law.

Further the king was to proclaim by criers lost property, and if the owner be not found in a year, to keep it, giving  $\frac{1}{4}$ th to the finder. All treasure-trove belongs to the king. An exception is made when a priest is the finder and some say that anybody who finds it gets  $\frac{1}{6}$ th.<sup>3373</sup> The king could impose forced labour (rāja-kāriya) on the people but this may have been limited to the confines of his estates. Thus, the peasant-proprietors enclose a deer-reserve for their king so that they might not be summoned to leave their tillage to beat up game for him.<sup>3374</sup> Gautama<sup>3375</sup> says that the king should force artisans to work for him for

<sup>3362</sup> Ibid., Ayodhyakāṇḍa, ch. 103.

<sup>3363</sup> Ind. Ant. 1893, p. 261.

<sup>3364</sup> D. 1. 135.

<sup>3365</sup> Gautama X. 25.

<sup>3366</sup> Vaśiṣṭha XIX. 35; Gautama X. 9-12;  
Āpastamva II. 10. 4-12.

<sup>3367</sup> II. 10. 4-12.

<sup>3368</sup> Jātaka. III. 302; cf. IV. 415. S. I. 89  
(Kindred Sayings I. 115).

<sup>3369</sup> XXVIII. 41.

<sup>3370</sup> II. 14. 5.

<sup>3371</sup> XVII. 83-86; cf. XVI. 19.

<sup>3372</sup> I. 11. 14-16; cf. I. 18. 16.

<sup>3373</sup> Gautama X. 31.

<sup>3374</sup> Nyagrodhamṛga Jātaka (No. 12);  
Nandikamṛga (No. 385); cf. Mahā-  
svapna (No. 77).

<sup>3375</sup> Gautama X. 31.

one day in the month. If the stock is merchandise, says Gautama,<sup>3376</sup> the tax according to some is  $\frac{1}{20}$ th, if it be gold or catttle  $\frac{1}{10}$ th, while  $\frac{1}{80}$ th is the tax on roots, fruits, flowers, medicinal herbs, honey, meat, grass and firewood.

It may be noted in this connection that śrotriya, ascetics forbidden to hold property, students, artisans, those who live by exploiting river, forest or hills, those earning less than a kārṣāpaṇa, slaves, servants, very old men, blind, dumb, deaf and diseased persons, those without protectors, children before puberty, women of all castes, wives of servants, widows who have returned to their families, unmarried girls and pradattā's (probably those girls whose marriages have been proposed)—all these were exempt from taxation.<sup>3377</sup>

Regulation of prices and profits by the state came as a natural sequel to the ideal of co-operation on which Indian society, though apparently split up into castes, was based. Undue raising of prices came to be denounced<sup>3378</sup> and, as we have already seen, for the royal household prices came to be fixed by the court-valuer without appeal; and what was once done in the interest of the king came to be done in the next epoch in the interest of the public as well. The exactions of the vārdhūśika came to be denounced, his food was regarded as impure<sup>3379</sup> and the rate of interest, was fixed.<sup>3380</sup> On the same principle Vaśiṣṭha<sup>3381</sup> asks the king to guard against the falsification of weights and measures.

While exploitation of others by capitalists came to be denounced great emphasis was laid on the performance of duties assigned to individuals and castes. We have already seen how the Dharmasūtras not only condemned those who did not perform their caste-duties<sup>3382</sup> but also authorised the king to punish them.<sup>3383</sup> We similarly find in the Dharmasūtras rules for punishing herdsmen who left their work or persons in tillage who abandoned their work and thereby caused loss to the employer.

<sup>3376</sup> Ibid., 25-27.

<sup>3377</sup> Vaśiṣṭha, XIX. 23-27; Āpastamya II. 10. 10-17.

<sup>3378</sup> Vaśiṣṭha II. 50.

<sup>3379</sup> Ibid., 40-42.

<sup>3380</sup> Ibid., 42-50; Gautama, XII. 29-35.

<sup>3381</sup> Ch. XIX.

<sup>3382</sup> Āpastamya II. 11. 11.

<sup>3383</sup> Ibid., II. 10. 12-16; cf. Ibid., II. 27. 18; Gautama XI. 31.



Mendicancy and undue asceticism was regarded as a social evil except in the case of men in the decline of their lives. This appears not only from the trend of the conversation between the Buddha and Ajātaśatru but also from the Vāśiṣṭha Dharmasūtra<sup>3384</sup> where begging Brahmins have been denounced as thieves.

Thus, we see that already in this period there were a general tendency to state-interference in economic life which developed into an accredited policy of the state in the next epoch.

The general economic condition of the classes and the masses—The hoarded wealth of the merchants, usually estimated in crores, their magnificent donations to the various religious orders, the establishment of almoneries, the excavation of tanks and other public benefactions of the rich, the existence of the actor, dancer, singer, acrobat, magician, storyteller, shampooer and dress-maker—all point to the prosperity of the upper classes. It is further proved by the rich festivities, large fees paid to courtesans, the high price of rich wines and the stories of betting with big sums.<sup>3385</sup> The luxury of the rich is equally evident from the existence of palatial buildings and the use of hair-dye,<sup>3386</sup> ointment (vilepana),<sup>3387</sup> scent called sarvasamhāraka,<sup>3388</sup> sandalwood oil,<sup>3389</sup> essence of sandalwood,<sup>3390</sup> aguru,<sup>3391</sup> guggulu,<sup>3392</sup> camphor,<sup>3393</sup> chaturjātiya gandha,<sup>3394</sup> kalka,<sup>3395</sup> specially sarṣapa-kalka (mustard

<sup>3384</sup> Ch. II.

<sup>3385</sup> Bhūridatta Jātaka (No. 543).

<sup>3386</sup> Āmracorrā Jātaka (No. 344).

<sup>3387</sup> Apannaka Jātaka (No. 1).

<sup>3388</sup> Mahānūmārga Jātaka (No. 546).

<sup>3389</sup> Kuśa Jātaka (No. 531).

<sup>3390</sup> Kurudharma Jātaka (No. 276).

<sup>3391</sup> Bhallāṭika Jātaka (No. 504);  
Khaṇḍahāla (No. 542).

<sup>3392</sup> Mātanga Jātaka (No. 497).

<sup>3393</sup> Andhabhūta Jātaka (No. 62).

<sup>3394</sup> According to the commentator

kumkum (saffron), jātipuṣpa, turayka (a scent from Turkey = myrrh?), yavāna (a scent from Yavana country)—these four made up chaturjātiya gandha referred to in Mahāśīlavajja (No. 51) and Mātanga (No. 497) Jātakas.

<sup>3395</sup> = Pāli kakku in Kuśa (No. 531). According to the commentator powdered mustard, salt, earth, powdered sesamum and turmeric—these five made up kalka.

powder used as face powder),<sup>3396</sup> snānachūrṇa<sup>3397</sup> and sandal powder as toilette for the breasts.<sup>3398</sup>

Men of the middle-class were also happy and often above the reach of want. They too lived a life of ease, indulged in charities, made gifts to the Order, raised money by subscription for charity or for works of public utility and joined in merriment and festivities.

There were, however, poor and too poor people too in villages as also in towns. In the Mahāsāra Jātaka (No. 92) an inhabitant of a janapada says that he has never seen (i. e., possessed) in his life a chair or a bedstead. We have already seen that the lot of the wage-earner appears to have been hard most of whom could with difficulty make their both ends meet. Moreover, the poorer labourers often suffered from the exactions of the money-lenders which sometimes became so unbearable that a debtor would fly to the forest or even attempt to commit suicide to escape from the clutches of his creditors.<sup>3399</sup> Forced labour also injuriously affected their position.

Oppressive taxation sometimes added to the misery of all classes. The Mahāśvāroha Jātaka<sup>3400</sup> speaks of a king (of Benares) who trebled the taxes so that the people could not lift up their heads. Another king (of Benares) oppressed his subjects with taxes and fines (daṇḍavali) and crushed them like sugarcane in a mill.<sup>3401</sup> The Gaṇḍatindu Jātaka<sup>3402</sup> refers to a Pāñchīla king whose subjects being oppressed by taxation fled to the forest where they wandered like wild beasts.<sup>3403</sup>

Occasional famines also caused much distress among the people. The Matsya Jātaka<sup>3404</sup> refers to the suffering caused by a famine in Kośala due to the failure of rains. In another famine in Kalinga due to draught the people suffered so terribly from want not only of food but also of drinking water that epidemics broke out and leaving their homesteads people had

3396 Mahānārada-kāśyapa Jātaka (No. 544).

3397 Vardhakiśūkara Jātaka (No. 283).

3398 Kuśa Jātaka (No. 531).

3399 Bhūridatta (No. 543); Ruru (No. 482).

3400 No. 302.

3401 *Uchchhūṇ viya janam pilesī* in Mahāpingala Jātaka (No. 240).

3402 No. 520.

3403 Mahāsvapna Jātaka (No. 77).

3404 No. 75.

to wander about the country with their children for food.<sup>3405</sup> The *Viraka Jātaka*<sup>3406</sup> refers to a famine in the kingdom of Kāśī which was so intense in character that the villagers were unable to find food all the while the crows left the kingdom. Another famine which overtook a Kāśī village was so terrible that the villagers had to take from their headman a collective loan of an old ox on whose flesh all of them had to subsist for a day or two.<sup>3407</sup> Records of such famine are also to be met with in the early canonical literature of the Buddhists.<sup>3408</sup> These evidences contradict the assertion of Megasthenes that famines were unknown in India,<sup>3409</sup> unless of course he meant a very general and protracted famine.

In spite of these visitations India was rich. Stories of her great wealth and prosperity reached the ears of foreigners and roused their greed and this made them invade India. In the fifth century B.C. the small Indian satrapy of Darius was regarded the wealthiest province of his empire, yielding the vast annual tribute of 360 Eubolic talents of gold, worth fully £1,290,000.<sup>3410</sup> This supply of gold India obtained, not as did Europe from America by conquest and rapine but by her mining industries and by the more natural and peaceful method of commerce "by the exchange of such of her productions as among the Indians were superfluities but at the same time not only highly prized by the nations of western Asia, Egypt and Europe but also were obtainable from no other quarter except India or from the farther East by means of the Indian trade."<sup>3411</sup>

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<sup>3405</sup> Kurudharma Jātaka (No. 276).

<sup>3406</sup> No. 204.

<sup>3407</sup> Grhapati Jātaka (No. 199).

<sup>3408</sup> Vinaya I. 21, 23f; III. 220, n. 1; compare the five itī's in Sudhābhajana (No. 535). In the Mahāsvapna (No. 77) a dream is interpreted as foreboding famine in Kalinga caused by draught. The

Mapicora (No. 194) refers to the popular belief that famines are caused by the sins of rulers.

<sup>3409</sup> McCrindle—Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes, 32.

<sup>3410</sup> Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 487.

<sup>3411</sup> C. Daniell—Industrial Competition of Asia, p. 225.

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